

# 内战

「美」大卫·阿米蒂奇 著  
邬娟 伍璇 译

## CIVIL WARS

David Armitage



## 观念中的历史

A History in Ideas

中信出版集团

Copyright

Copyright

Copyright

Copyright

Copyright 2018

ISBN 9787508688671

Copyright APP

Copyright

□□□□

□□□□·□□□

□Nicholas Henshall□1944—2015□

□□□□□·□□

□Christopher Bayly□1945—2015□

内战？这意味着什么？难道还有什么外战吗？人与人之间的战争，不都是兄弟之间的战争吗？

——维克多·雨果《悲惨世界》（1862）

无论人类能拥有多么深厚的兄弟情谊，这一兄弟情谊都是来自兄弟仇杀；无论人类能够形成什么样的政治组织，这些政治组织都是源于罪恶。

——汉娜·阿伦特《论革命》（1963）

## 二 二二二

1945年，日本帝国主义侵华战争结束，中国进入了“新民主主义”时期。在这一时期，中国社会的性质是半殖民地半封建社会，主要矛盾是中国人民同帝国主义、封建主义之间的矛盾。1815—1853年，中国经历了鸦片战争，1871年，中国经历了甲午战争，1914年，中国经历了第一次世界大战。20世纪，中国经历了“五四”运动，1949年，中国建立了中华人民共和国。<sup>[1]</sup> 2015年，中国进入了全面深化改革、全面推进依法治国的新时期。——<sup>[2]</sup> 30年来，中国取得了举世瞩目的成就，2014年，中国国内生产总值达到64.6万亿元，<sup>[2]</sup> 中国已经成为世界第二大经济体。

中国的发展离不开世界，世界的发展也需要中国。<sup>[3]</sup> 2015年，中国提出了“一带一路”倡议，旨在通过加强国际合作，促进沿线国家的经济发展和繁荣。40年来，中国始终坚持改革开放，不断深化改革，扩大开放，推动经济高质量发展。——<sup>[4]</sup> 中国的发展离不开世界，世界的发展也需要中国。

20世纪90年代，中国进入了“社会主义市场经济”时期。在这一时期，中国实行了改革开放政策，推动了经济体制的深刻变革。中国的发展离不开世界，世界的发展也需要中国。Immanuel Kant（1724—1804）是德国著名哲学家，他的思想对后世产生了深远影响。<sup>[4]</sup> 中国的发展离不开世界，世界的发展也需要中国。



政治思想史のなかで、権威主義的・独裁的な政治体制を批判し、民主主義の価値を強調した思想家として知られる。その代表作『On Violence』(1979)や『The State of Exception』(2005)は、現代政治思想に大きな影響を与えている。また、『Homo Sacer』(1989)では、古代ローマの「神聖な人間」の概念を通じて、現代社会における個人の権利と自由の問題を考察している。

彼の思想は、特に「例外状態」という概念が注目を集めている。これは、国家が非常事態を宣言し、通常の法律を suspend（中止）する状態を指す。アガンベンによれば、この状態は現代社会でも頻りに発生しており、それは人権の侵害につながる可能性がある。

さらに、彼は暴力についても深く考察している。『On Violence』では、暴力を単なる物理的な力ではなく、政治的な行為として捉え、その正当性や限界について問いかけている。

アガンベンの思想は、法学、政治学、哲学の分野を超えて、広く読者の関心を集めている。彼の著作は、現代社会のありさまを鋭く洞察し、未来への警鐘を鳴らすものである。

1648年1945年300年  
 60年 [13]  
 1945年259年  
 1989年5% 20  
 90  
 2015年50年20  
 “ ” [14]  
 2012年500

\*\*\*

威廉·特库姆塞·谢尔曼William Tecumseh Sherman  
[15] 1862年11月，他在给家人的信中写道：“  
Lucan [16] 1922年，他在《大西洋月刊》中写道：“  
Michel de Montaigne [17] 1970年，夏尔·戴高乐Charles de Gaulle  
[18]

——“  
[19]

1992年4月5日，他在给家人的信中写道：“  
——“  
“



——Mahabharata Krishna Arjuna Cain Abel Eteocles Polynices Romulus Remus——  
[20]

1  
17—46 1/4 [21] 1 700 16 40 [22] 75 750 [23]

——  
[A 1]

——



1702—1704年出版了《The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England》[26]。170年后的1880—1901年出版了《The War of the Rebellion》[27]。在这两部著作中，“叛乱”和“内战”被赋予了不同的含义。在1702—1704年的著作中，“叛乱”指的是对王权的挑战，而在1880—1901年的著作中，“叛乱”则指的是对联邦政府的挑战。这种对“叛乱”定义的演变，反映了美国历史中权力斗争的复杂性。

1988年，纽特·金里奇（Newt Gingrich）在国会发表演讲，称“叛乱”是“对宪法的挑战”。这一观点在2015年11月，曼努埃尔·瓦尔斯（Manuel Valls）在法国议会发表演讲时得到了呼应。瓦尔斯称“叛乱”是“对民主的挑战”。这些观点反映了不同文化背景下对“叛乱”定义的理解。在西方文化中，“叛乱”通常被视为对现有秩序的威胁，而在一些东方文化中，“叛乱”则可能被视为对压迫的反抗。这种文化差异使得“叛乱”的定义在不同语境下呈现出不同的面貌。

综上所述，本文探讨了“叛乱”在不同历史和文化背景下的定义和演变。通过分析1702—1704年的《The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England》和1880—1901年的《The War of the Rebellion》，以及1988年纽特·金里奇和2015年曼努埃尔·瓦尔斯的演讲，本文揭示了“叛乱”定义的复杂性和多样性。本文认为，对“叛乱”的定义应当结合具体的历史和文化背景进行理解，而不能简单地套用某种固定的模式。



“[\[35\]](#) ”

“Eine Streitschrift”

“[\[36\]](#) ”

1989

45

“[\[38\]](#) ”

1989

“[\[39\]](#) ”

的。[40] 在the Correlates of War Project[41] 的1816个[42]

————  
[43] 100  
“”  
——  
[44] “” 2 000

“” [45]  
“”  
[46]  
[47]

“”



“fitna”  
[50] nei zhan  
[51] naisen

18  
19  
1861—1865

19

1 5 600



በጥንቃቄነት በሚከተለው መንገድ ማስፈጸም ይገባል፡

በጥንቃቄነት “የጥንቃቄነት” ማስፈጸም 16—18 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም —— በጥንቃቄነት  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም “የጥንቃቄነት” ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት [\[52\]](#) በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም 20 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት

በጥንቃቄነት “የጥንቃቄነት” ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት 19 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም

በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት 20 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም “የ” ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም —— በጥንቃቄነት  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም —— በጥንቃቄነት [\[53\]](#) በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም 20 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም

በጥንቃቄነት “የጥንቃቄነት” ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም —— በጥንቃቄነት  
በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም 2 000 በጥንቃቄነት ማስፈጸም  
በጥንቃቄነት

[A1] “ ” conception idea “ ” — —

[1] John Lewis Gaddis, “The Long Peace: Elements of Security in the Postwar International System,” in *Long Peace*, 214–45; Mueller, *Retreat from Doomsday*; Mandelbaum, *Dawn of Peace in Europe*; Howard, *The Invention of Peace and the Reinvention of War*; Sheehan, *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone?*

[2] Melander, Pettersson, and Themnér, *Organized Violence, 1989–2015*; Pettersson and Wilt, “Armed Conflicts 1946–2014,.”

[3] Braumoeller, “Is War Disappearing?”; Newman, “Conflict Research and the ‘Decline’ of Civil War”; Sarkees, “Patterns of Civil Wars in the Twentieth Century.”

[4] Ghervas, “La paix par le droit, ciment de la civilisation en Europe?”

[5] Immanuel Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace” (1795), in *Practical Philosophy*, trans. Gregor, 317, 351.

[6] Goldstein, *Winning the War on War*; Pinker, *Better Angels of Our Nature*.

[7] Hironaka, *Neverending Wars*, 4–5; Paul Collier, Lisa Chauvet, and Håvard Hagre, “The Security Challenge in Conflict-Prone Countries,” in *Global Crises, Global Solutions*, ed. Lo

mborg, 72, 99 (quoted); Skaperdas et al., *Costs of Violence*; World Bank, *World Development Report 2011*; Dunne, "Armed Conflicts"; Hoeffler, "Alternative Perspective."

[8] Collier, *Wars, Guns, and Votes*, 139 (quoted); Collier, Hoeffler, and Söderbom, "On the Duration of Civil War"; Fearon, "Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?"; Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict?"; Hironaka, *Never-ending Wars*, 1, 50; World Bank, *World Development Report 2011*, 57.

[9] Collier, *Bottom Billion*; Rice, Graff, and Lewis, *Poverty and Civil War*.

[10] Mission statement, Centre for the Study of Civil War, Peace Research Institute Oslo, <http://www.prio.org/Programmes/Extensions/Centre-for-the-Study-of-Civil-War/About/>.

[11] Enzensberger, *Civil War*, 12.

[12] Agamben, *Stasis*, trans. Heron, 2. Compare Grangé, *Oublier la guerre civile?*, 7: "il est vrai que la guerre civile est occultée par les traités politiques"; Kissane, *Nations Torn Asunder*, 3: "There has been, in the history of political thought, no systematic treatise on civil war."

[13] Mason, "Evolution of Theory on Civil War and Revolution," 63–66.

[14]Melander, Petersson, and Wallensteen, “Organized Violence, 1989—2015,” 730;Gleditsch, “Transnational Dimensions of Civil War”; Checkel, *Transnational Dynamics of Civil War*.

[15]Mayer, *Furies*, 323 (“If war is hell, then civil war belongs to hell’s deepest and most infernal regions”); Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 52–53.

[16]Lucan, *Bellum civile* (1.31–32), in Lucan, *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 3– 4; Michel de Montaigne, “Of Bad Meanes Employed to a Good End” (*Essais*, 2.23), in *Essays Written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, trans. Florio, 384;Frank Aiken, Aug. 3, 1922, quoted in Hopkinson, *Green Against Green*, 273.

[17]Eliot, *Milton*, 3.

[18]De Gaulle, quoted in Marañón Moya, “El general De Gaulle, en Toledo” (“Todas las guerras son malas ... Pero las guerras civiles, en las que en ambas trincheras hay hermanos, son imperdonables, porque la paz no nace cuando la guerra termina”).

[19]Enzensberger, *Civil War*, trans. Spence and Chalmers, 11.

[20] Girard, *Violence and the Sacred*; Giraldo Ramírez, *El rastro de Caín*; Jacoby, *Bloodlust*; Esposito, *Terms of the Political*, 123–34. As Bill Kissane notes, the term for civil war in modern Hebrew approximates to “war between brothers.” Kissane, *Nations Torn Asunder*, 7.

[21] Osgood, *Caesar’s Legacy*, 3, citing Brunt, *Italian Manpower*, 225 b.c.—a.d. 14,509–12.

[22] Braddick, *God’s Fury, England’s Fire*, xii.

[23] Faust, “Numbers on Top of Numbers,” 997; Faust, *This Republic of Suffering*, xi. Neely, *Civil War and the Limits of Destruction*, 208–16. Hacker “Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead” 620 000—750 000

[24] Kloppenberg, *Toward Democracy*, 21–60.

[25] Clarendon, *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641*.

[26] Schmitt, *Ex Captivitate Salus*, 56 (“Der Bürgerkrieg hat etwas besonders Grausames. Er ist ein Bruderkrieg, weil er innerhalb einer gemeinsamen...politischen Einheit ... geführt wird, und weil beide kämpfenden Seiten diese gemeinsame Einheit gleichzeitig absolut behaupten und absolut verneinen”).

[27] U.S. Department of War, *War of the Rebellion*.

[28] Gingrich, quoted in Stauffer, "Civility, Civil Society, and Civil Wars," 88.

[29] "Pour Valls, le FN peut conduire à la guerre civile," Le Monde, Dec. 11, 2015: "Il y a deux options pour notre pays. Il y a une option qui est celle de l'extrême droite qui, au fond, prône la division. Cette division peut conduire à la guerre civile et il y a une autre vision qui est celle de la République et des valeurs, qui est le rassemblement."

[30] Brass, *Theft of an Idol*, 3-20; Kalyvas, "Ontology of 'Political Violence'"; Kalyvas, "Promises and Pitfalls of an Emerging Research Program"; Kissane and Sitter, "Ideas in Conflict."

[31] Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*; Kalyvas, "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars"; Münkler, *New Wars*.

[32] Geuss, "Nietzsche and Genealogy"; Bevir, "What Is Genealogy?"

[33] Skinner, "Genealogy of the Modern State," 325.

[34] Nietzsche, *On the Genealogy of Morality*, 51.

[35] Ibid., 53 (my emphasis).

[36]Gallie, “Essentially Contested Concepts”; Collier, Hidalgo, and Maciuceanu, “Essentially Contested Concepts.”

[37]Gallie, preface to *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*, 8–9.

[38]Kalyvas, “Civil Wars,” 417.

[39]For helpful overviews, see Sambanis, “Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Literature on Civil War”; Collier and Sambanis, *Understanding Civil War*; Blattman and Miguel, “Civil War.”

[40]Uppsala Conflict Data Program (1948—present), <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/>.

[41]The Correlates of War Project, <http://www.correlatesofwar.org/>; Small and Singer, *Resort to Arms*; Gleditsch, “Revised List of Wars Between and Within Independent States, 1816—2002”; Sarkees and Wayman, *Resort to War*; Reiter, Stamm, and Horowitz, “Revised Look at Interstate Wars, 1816—2007.”

[42]Dixon, “What Causes Civil Wars?,” 730; Lounsberry and Pearson, *Civil Wars*, viii; Newman, *Understanding Civil Wars*.

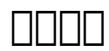
[43]Though for a recent exception, spanning the centuries from ancient Rome to Afghanistan, see Armitage et al., “





[\[52\]](#) Armitage, "Every Great Revolution Is a Civil War."

[\[53\]](#) Armitage, "Cosmopolitanism and Civil War."



The image shows base ten blocks. The top row consists of three tens rods. The bottom row consists of four ones units.

□□□□

[illegible]

“civil” “civil war”

——“civil war”

——

————*polemos*  
*"polemical"* [54]  
  
  
*""* [55] " "  
"*" "*" "*" "*" "*" "*"  
[56] 1  
[57] *bellum civile*

[illegible]

1990年代，中國政府開始推行「一胎化」政策，以控制人口增長。然而，隨著經濟的發展和社會的進步，人口結構發生了變化，政府開始重新審視這一政策。2013年，政府正式宣佈放寬生育政策，允許夫婦生育兩個孩子。這一政策調整旨在應對人口老齡化和勞動力短缺等問題。

[illegible]



civitas cives  
“ ” “ ” [63] 2 000  
[64]

[illegible]

“[66]”

[illegible][illegible]



「...」の「...」427...  
(...)  
...4...  
...  
...

...  
Peithias...  
60...  
...

...  
...  
...17...  
Thomas Hobbes...1629...「...  
.....  
」 [75] ...  
「...」19... [76] ...  
 [77] ...  
「...」...  
...  
「...  
」...  
「...  
」 [78]





*oikeois polemos* [85]

[illegible]

Livy's account of the founding of Rome is a central theme in the study of Roman history. The story of Romulus and Remus, as told by Livy, is a foundational narrative that shapes our understanding of the early Roman Republic. The legend of the twins, born of a mortal and a god, and the subsequent founding of Rome, is a key element of Roman mythology and history. The story is often used to illustrate the values and ideals of the Roman people, such as courage, loyalty, and the importance of the state. The founding of Rome is also a symbol of the beginning of a new civilization, one that would go on to become one of the most powerful and influential in the world.

5. Tarquinius Superbus  
 res publica  
 [91]  
 [92]

罗马共和国的政体在公元前5世纪末到公元前3世纪末期间经历了深刻的变化。这一时期被称为“冲突的等级”（Conflict of the Orders）<sup>[93]</sup>。在这一过程中，平民（*plebs*）与贵族（*patres*）之间的斗争导致了政治权力的重新分配。平民最终获得了与贵族同等的法律地位，并建立了保民官（*tribunes*）这一职位。这一时期的斗争为后来的共和政体奠定了基础。然而，到了公元前3世纪末，罗马的扩张使得共和政体难以维持。最终，在公元前1世纪，罗马共和国被罗马帝国取代。这一过程在Karl Marx（1818—1883）的著作中得到了深刻的分析<sup>[94]</sup>。

在这一过程中，平民和元老院经常因法案的通过和债务的取消而意见不一，或者在选举以及土地分配问题上产生矛盾，但是从未爆发过内部暴乱事件……没有人会将刀剑带入议会，也没有哪个罗马人被罗马人杀死。这一时期的斗争为后来的共和政体奠定了基础。然而，到了公元前3世纪末，罗马的扩张使得共和政体难以维持。最终，在公元前1世纪，罗马共和国被罗马帝国取代。这一过程在Tiberius Gracchus（公元前133—公元前121）和Gaius Gracchus（公元前125—公元前121）的领导下得到了体现。他们的改革为平民争取了更多的权利，但也导致了元老院的强烈反对。最终，他们的改革未能持久，罗马共和国在公元前1世纪末走向了灭亡。这一过程在Plutarch（公元1—公元100）的著作中得到了详细的记载<sup>[95]</sup>。

在这一过程中，平民和元老院经常因法案的通过和债务的取消而意见不一，或者在选举以及土地分配问题上产生矛盾，但是从未爆发过内部暴乱事件……没有人会将刀剑带入议会，也没有哪个罗马人被罗马人杀死。这一时期的斗争为后来的共和政体奠定了基础。然而，到了公元前3世纪末，罗马的扩张使得共和政体难以维持。最终，在公元前1世纪，罗马共和国被罗马帝国取代。这一过程在Julius Caesar（公元前100—公元前44）和Appian（公元95—公元165）的著作中得到了详细的记载<sup>[95]</sup>。

在罗马，平民和元老院经常因法案的通过和债务的取消而意见不一，或者在选举以及土地分配问题上产生矛盾，但是从未爆发过内部暴乱事件……没有人会将刀剑带入议会，也没有哪个罗马人被罗马人杀死。

杀害，直到保民官提比略·格拉古因提交了改革法案而被刺死，他成了罗马内乱牺牲的第一人。

罗马内战（*bellum civile*）——罗马人称之为“*stasis*”或“*civil war*”<sup>[96]</sup>

罗马内战（*bellum civile*）——罗马人称之为“*stasis*”或“*civil war*”<sup>[96]</sup>

罗马内战（*bellum civile*）——罗马人称之为“*stasis*”或“*civil war*”<sup>[96]</sup>

罗马内战（*bellum civile*）——罗马人称之为“*stasis*”或“*civil war*”<sup>[96]</sup>





「*hostis*」は「敵」を意味する。この「敵」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。

「敵国」を意味する。——「敵国」を意味する。85  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。

「敵国」を意味する。83  
「敵国」を意味する。24  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。

「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。18  
「敵国」を意味する。Oliver Cromwell  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。.....  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。[103]  
「敵国」を意味する。

「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。この「敵国」は、  
「敵国」を意味する。491  
「敵国」を意味する。C  
oriolanus

the Roman Republic, the concept of a "global civil war" is a modern invention. [104] The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers.

The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers.

The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers. The Roman Republic was a system of government that was based on the principle of the separation of powers.

---

[54] Loraux, *Divided City*, trans. Pache and Fort, 108.

[55] Nicolet, *Demokratia et aristokratia*; Wiedemann, "Reflections of Roman Political Thought in Latin Historical Writing," 519.

[56] "Aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium": Velleius Paterculus, *Historiae* 2.36.2; Scanlon, *Influence of Thucydides on*



*Sallust; Pelling, “ ‘Learning from That Violent Schoolmaster.’ ”*

[57] Botteri, “*Stási.*”

[58] Clavadetscher-Thürlemann, ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣΔΙΚΑΙΣ *und bellum iustum*, 178–83; Wynn, *Augustine on War and Military Service*, 128–31.

[59] Rosenberger, *Bella et expeditiones*.

[60] Keenan, *Wars Without End*, 32.

[61] Jal, *La guerre civile à Rome*, 19–21; Urbainczyk, *Slave Revolts in Antiquity*, 100–115; Schiavone, *Spartacus*.

[62] Robert Brown, “The Terms *Bellum Sociale* and *Bellum Civile* in the Late Republic,” 103.

[63] civitas Ando, *Roman Social Imaginaries*, 7–14

[64] harvey, *Rebel Cities*; Hazan, *History of the Barricade*.

[65] Brett, *Changes of State*.

[66] Plato, *Republic* 462a–b, in *Collected Dialogues*, 701 (translation adapted).

[67] Gehrke, *Stasis*.

[68]Price, *Thucydides and Internal War*, 30–32.

[69]Plato, *Republic* 470b—c, in *Collected Dialogues*, 709.

[70]Plato, *Laws* 628b, 629d, in *Collected Dialogues*, 1229 (translation adapted), 1231; Price, *Thucydides and Internal War*, 67–70.

[71]Stouratis, “Byzantine War Against Christians”; Kyriakidis, “Idea of Civil War in Thirteenth- and Fourteenth-Century Byzantium.”

[72]Panourgía, *Dangerous Citizens*, 81– 86.

[73]Loraux, “*Oikeios polemos*.”

[74]Plato, *Republic* 471e, in *Collected Dialogues*, 710.

[75]Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre* 3.81– 83, trans. Hobbes, 187–90. “The Athenians were not without their share of civil war, as the Peloponnesians were not without their share of civil war.” Fuks, “Thucydides and the Stasis in Corcyra”

[76]The History Writton by Thucidides the Athenyan of the Warre, Whiche Was Betwene the Peloponesians and the Athenyans, by Nicoll Claude de Seysell civil war civile dissention cyvill seditions cyvill battailles 1720 Hoekstra, “H

Hobbes's Thucydides," 551-57; [76]Harloe and Morley, eds., *Thucydides and the Modern World*

[77]Price, *Thucydides and Internal War*, 14 -18, [78]"[79]" (2.47-58), [80]Orwin, "Stasis and Plague"

[78]Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre*, trans. Hobbes, 198, 199(i.e., pp. 188, 189). [79]"[80]" [81]Loraux, "Thucydide et la sédition dans les mots"

[79]Thucydides, *War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians* 3.74, trans. Mynott,208.

[80][81]Richard Thomas [82]"[83]"

[81]Thomas De Quincey, "[Greece Under the Romans,' draft]" ( Jan.-March 1844), in *Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 15:539 (foot-note). [82]Jennifer Pitts [83]

[82]Thucydides, *War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians*, trans. Mynott, 212n1.

[83]Thucydides, *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre*, trans. Hobbes, 198 (i.e.,188).

[84]Loraux, *Divided City*, 107- 8, 197-213; Ando, *Law, Language, and Empire in the Roman Tradition*, 3 - 4.

[85]Thucydides, *War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians* 4.64, trans. Mynott, 273; Loraux, “*Oikeios polemos*.”

[86]Brunt, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*; Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome*.

[87]“tumults” civil war”Jal, “‘Tumultus’ et ‘bellum civile’ dans les Philippiques de Cicéron”; Grangé, “*Tumultus et tumulto*”

[88]Livy, *History of Rome* 1.7, in *Rise of Rome*, trans. Luce, 10–11; Wiseman, *Remus*.

[89]Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.95, in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 5; also quoted in Augustine, *City of God Against the Pagans* 15.5, ed. and trans. Dyson, 640.

[90]Beard, *SPQR*, 73–74.

[91]*res publica*Lind, “Idea of the Republic and the Foundations of Roman Political Liberty”

[92]Livy, *History of Rome* 2.1, in *Rise of Rome*, 71; Arena, *Libertas and the Practice of Politics in the Late Roman Republic*.

[93]Raaflaub, *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*.

[94]Draper, *Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, 11–27 (on “dictatorship”); Lekas, *Marx on Classical Antiquity*; Bonne

II, “‘A Very Valuable Book’: Karl Marx and Appian”  
[95]

[95]Plutarch, “Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus,” in *Roman Lives*, trans. Waterfield, 98–99, 113–14.

[96]Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.1–2, trans. Carter, 1; Price, “Thucydidean Stasis and the Roman Empire in Appian’s Interpretation of History.”

[97]Ibid. 1.1–2, trans. Carter, 1–2 (translation amended).

[98]Jal, “‘Hostis (Publicus)’ dans la littérature latine de la fin de la République.”

[99]Flower, “Rome’s First Civil War and the Fragility of Republican Culture,” 75–78.

[100]Sherwin-White, *Roman Citizenship*, 40, 264–67.

[101]Keaveney, *Sulla*, 45–50; Seager, “Sulla.”

[102]Raafaub, “Caesar the Liberator?”

[103]Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.59–60, trans. Carter, 32–33.

[104]Ibid. 1.1, 1.55, trans. Carter, I, 30.





羅馬帝國在公元前106年征服了高盧，並在阿利米努姆（Ariminum，現為里米尼（Rimini））建立了殖民地。10年，羅馬皇帝奧古斯都（Augustus）在里米尼建立了阿利米努姆殖民地（Colonia Ariminensis）。<sup>[109]</sup>

蘇維托尼烏斯（Suetonius）在《羅馬皇帝傳》中記載了奧古斯都的統治。他提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。他還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。他還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。<sup>[110]</sup> 蘇維托尼烏斯還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。<sup>[111]</sup>

拿破崙（Napoleon Bonaparte）在1819年建立了里米尼殖民地。他還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。他還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。他還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。<sup>[112]</sup> 拿破崙還提到，奧古斯都為了加強對高盧的統治，在里米尼建立了殖民地。<sup>[113]</sup>



罗马共和国的崛起和衰落，是罗马历史中最重要的一部分。·  
·**马库斯·图利乌斯·西塞罗**(**Marcus Tullius Cicero**)是罗马共和国最著名的演说家和政治家。他在公元前66—49年期间，曾担任过罗马的执政官。[\[114\]](#) 西塞罗在公元前66年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。他在公元前49年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。

公元前66年，西塞罗在罗马担任执政官。他在公元前23年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。他在公元前18年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。他在公元前20年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。

如果国家的命运不依赖于他，难以想象战争将以一种怎样的面目出现？内战、非洲、阿尔卑斯北部、西班牙(一场平民与好战部落之间的战争)、奴隶战争、海上战争，这些战争和敌人，无论是在性质还是地点上都有所不同，他不仅参与了这些战争，而且也最终亲手结束了它们——所有这些都表明，没有什么军事经验是他所不熟悉的。[\[115\]](#)

公元前20年，西塞罗在罗马担任执政官。他在公元前18年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。他在公元前20年，曾担任过罗马的执政官。



“*pestifera bella civilia*” [1  
20]

44 43  
[1  
21]

\*\*\*

civilization  
oblivio  
Gaius Asinius Pollio  
Quintilian  
49

**44**

**39**

**38**

内部动乱始于  
执政官梅特路斯  
内战的原因，内战的邪恶，还有内战的方式  
命运的游戏，致命的友谊  
如此伟大，那铠甲  
因未得到救赎的血而污迹斑斑——  
一切充斥着骰子游戏般的危险——  
正是你所面对的一切，而火焰被踏灭  
灰烬依然在燃烧。 [\[122\]](#)

[illegible]

180 160  
 88—87 82—81  
 20 63 Catiline  
 100



14 世纪英国文学的“黄金时代”[129] 14 世纪英国文学· Geoffrey Chaucer 的“黄金时代”[129] 15 世纪英国文学· Hugo Grotius (1583—1645) 的“黄金时代”[130] 16 世纪英国文学· 17 世纪英国文学· 18 世纪英国文学· 19 世纪英国文学· 20 世纪英国文学

15 世纪英国文学· Titus Petronius Arbitrarius (27—66) 的《Satyricon》[131] 16 世纪英国文学· Aeneid —— 17 世纪英国文学“黄金时代”[131]

18 世纪英国文学· 19 世纪英国文学“黄金时代”[132] 20 世纪英国文学· 4 世纪英国文学· 15 世纪英国文学“黄金时代”[133] 18 世纪 80 年代英国文学· Edward Gibbon (1737—1794) 的《The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire》[132]

19 世纪英国文学· 20 世纪英国文学“黄金时代”[133] 40 世纪英国文学· Histories, 109 世纪英国文学“黄金时代”[133] Plutarch 的《The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans》100—1



[136] 在横跨厄玛提亚平原的所有战争中，它比内战更恶劣，  
我们为犯罪的合法性而歌颂，而这个强大的民族

手执胜利之剑刺向自己，  
手足兵戎相见，而暴政的契约一旦被打破，  
因普遍的罪行，  
与动荡世界的所有力量发生的冲突，  
充满敌意的规则与标准规则相抗衡，  
战鹰对抗和标枪飞掷。  
啊，公民们，这是多么的疯狂啊！ [137]

在横跨厄玛提亚平原的所有战争中，它比内战更恶劣，  
我们为犯罪的合法性而歌颂，而这个强大的民族  
手执胜利之剑刺向自己，  
手足兵戎相见，而暴政的契约一旦被打破，  
因普遍的罪行，  
与动荡世界的所有力量发生的冲突，  
充满敌意的规则与标准规则相抗衡，  
战鹰对抗和标枪飞掷。  
啊，公民们，这是多么的疯狂啊！ [138]

啊，公民们，这是多么的疯狂啊！ [139]  
1643年，威廉·华勒爵士 Sir William Waller  
[140]





Diagram illustrating a sequence of 28 boxes, grouped into three sections:

- Section A: 4 boxes (indicated by a bracket and the label 'A' below).
- Section B: 24 boxes (indicated by a bracket and the label 'B' below).
- Section C: 4 boxes (indicated by a bracket and the label 'C' below).

为什么要疯狂地加入一场邪恶的战争？

你的剑已入鞘，

现在又为何要将它们拔出？

……是残酷的命运驱使着

罗马人，当雷穆斯的无辜鲜血

流淌在大地，

残杀兄弟的罪行——是对后代的诅咒，甚至包括尚未出生的后人。[\[143\]](#)

[illegible]

3—62  
 146  
 “ ”  
 “ ”

“[\[146\]](#) ”  
“[\[147\]](#) ”

2 [\[A1\]](#) .  
“ ” “ ” [\[148\]](#) — — Blossius  
Velleius Paterc  
ulus 133 .  
121 “ ”  
44 “ ” [\[149\]](#) [\[150\]](#)

— — “ ” “ ” [\[151\]](#)

《Thebaid》92 1 [152] ——— 18

4 10 413 426 22

[153] ——— “ ” ——— “ ” “ ” “ ” Concord “ Discord [154]

“...the Earthly City, ...” [155]

Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, 417—418 [156]

... [157]

... [158]

the Earthly City, ...

the Heavenly City”

“

”

[159]

\*\*\*

18

[illegible]



□□□□Suetonius□□□□□□: “*lacta alea est.*” Suetonius, *The Deified Julius* 32, in *Suetonius*, trans. Rolfe, 1:76.

[110]Suetonius, *Deified Julius* 31–32, in *Suetonius*, trans. Rolfe, 1:74 –77; Lucan, *Bellum civile* (1.190 –92, 225 –27), in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 8, 9.

[111]heuzé, “Comment peindre le passage du Rubicon?”

[112]Caesar, *Civil War* 1.8, ed. and trans. Damon, 15.

[113]Bonaparte, *Précis des guerres de Jules César*, 97–98 (“En passant le Rubicon, César avait déclaré la guerre civile et bravé les anathèmes prononcés contre les généraux qui passeraient en armes le Rubicon: ils étaient voués aux dieux infernaux”); Poignault, “Napoleon Ier et Napoleon III lecteurs de Jules César,” 329 –36.

[114]Brown, “Terms *Bellum Sociale* and *Bellum Civile* in the Late Republic,” 104.

[115]Cicero, *De imperio Cn. Pompei* 28, in *Political Speeches*, trans. Berry, 119 (my emphasis).

[116]Seager, *Pompey the Great*, 25 –36, 43 – 48.

[117]Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.12, in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 3; Schmitt, *Glossarium*, 32 (“Im Bürgerkrieg gibt es keinen Triumph”); Beard, *Roman Triumph*, 123 –24, 303– 4.



[118]Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* 2.8.7, quoted in Lange, "Triumph and Civil War in the Late Republic," 69 –70.

[119]Östenberg, " *Veni Vidi Vici* and Caesar's Triumph," 8 23.

[120]Lange, "Triumph and Civil War in the Late Republic," 74, 76 –78, 82–84. □□□□Lange, *Triumphs in the Age of Civil War*□

[121]Cicero, *De officiis* 1.85–86 ("apud Atheniensis magnae discordiae, in nostra re publica non solum seditiones sed etiam pestifera bella civilia"), in *On Duties*, 86–87, quoting Plato, *Republic* 420b (translation adapted).

[122]Horace, *Odes* 2.1, in *Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. West, 56; Mendell, "Epic of Asinius Pollio"; Henderson, *Fighting for Rome*, 108 –59.

[123]Tacitus, *Annals* 1.3, quoted in Harriet I. Flower, *Roman Republics* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2010), 154 ("etiam senes plerique inter belli civilia nati: quotus quisque reliquus qui rem publicam vidisset"); Keitel, "Principate and Civil War in the *Annals* of Tacitus."

[124]Gowing, " 'Caesar Grabs My Pen,' " 250.

[125] Masters, *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's "Bellum Civile."*

[126] Asso, ed., *Brill's Companion to Lucan*

[127] Lucan, *In Cath Catharda*; Meyer, "Middle-Irish Version of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan."

[128] *Rómverja Saga*, ed. Helgadóttir.

[129] Dante, *Convivio* 4.28.13 ("quello grande poeta Lucano"); Geoffrey Chaucer, *The House of Fame* 3.1499, quoted in Susanna Braund, introduction to *Lucan*, ed. Tesoriero, Muecke, and Neal, 2–4.

[130] Lucan, *M. Annaei Lvcani Pharsalia*; Grotius ("poeta phileleutheros"), quoted in Conte, *Latin Literature*, trans. Solodow, 451.

[131] Petronius, *Satyricon* 118, in *Satyricon*, trans. Sullivan, 109 ("ingens opus"), 109–22 (Eumolpus's poem); Virgil, *Aeneid* 7.45 ("maius opus").

[132] "But," Gibbon continued, "of what avail is tardy knowledge? Where error is irretrievable, repentance is useless." Note from winter 1790–91, in Gibbon, *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, British Library shelf mark

C.60.m.1; Bowersock, "Gibbon on Civil War and Rebellion in the Decline of the Roman Empire."

[133] Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.223 -24, in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 27.

[134] Florus, *Epitome* 1.intro., 1.47.14, 2.3.18, 2.8.20, 2.13.4 -5, in *Epitome of Roman History*, trans. Foster, 5-7, 217, 233, 241, 267 (translations adapted).

[135] Henderson, *Fighting for Rome*, pts. 1, 4; Breed, Damon, and Rossi, *Citizens of Discord*.

[136] "Trina bella civilia, plura externa, ac plerumque permixta." Tacitus, *Histories* 1.2, in *Histories, Books I-III*, trans. Moore, 5 (translation adapted).

[137] Florus, *Epitome* 2.13, in *Epitome of Roman History*, trans. Foster, 267 (translation adapted).

[138] Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.1-8, in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 3.

[139] Núñez González, "On the Meaning of *Bella Plus Quam Civilia* (Lucan 1, 1)."

[140] Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.682, in *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 21; Waller to Sir Ralph Hopton, June 16, 1643 (O.S.), in C

oate, *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642—1660*, 77.

[141]Woodman, “Poems to Historians.”

[142]Augustine, *City of God Against the Pagans* 3.6, 15.5, ed. and trans. Dyson, 99,639 – 40.

[143]horace, *Epodes* 7, in *Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. West, 11.

[144]Wiseman, *Remus*, 143.

[145]horace, *Epodes* 16, in *Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. West, 18.

[146]Sallust, *The War with Catiline* 16.4, in *Sallust*, trans. Rolfe, 17, 19, 27–28(“civile bellum exoptabant”) (translation adapted).

[147]Sallust, fragments from *Histories*, bk. 1, frags. 8, 10, 12, in *Fragments of the Histories*, trans. Ramsey, 8 –13.

[148]Varro, *Di vita populi Romani*, frag. 114, quoted in Wiseman, “Two-Headed State,” 26; see also Florus, *Epitome* 2.5.3, in *Epitome of Roman History*,trans. Foster, 228 (“iudicia ria lege Gracchi diviserant populum Romanum et bicipitem ex una fecerant civitatem”).

[149] Tacitus, *Histories* 2.38, in Tacitus, *Histories, Books I-III*, trans. Moore, 223 (“temptamenta civilium bellorum”).

[150] Cicero, *De officiis* 1.86, in Cicero, *On Duties*, 86 – 87.

[151] Tacitus, *Histories* 1.50, in *Histories, Books I-III*, trans. Moore, 85 (“repetita bellorum civilium memoria”) (translation adapted).

[152] Braund, “Tale of Two Cities”; Mc Nelis, *Statius’ Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War*.

[153] Brown, *Augustine of Hippo*, 23 –25.

[154] Augustine, *City of God Against the Pagans*, 15.5, 2.19, 2.22, 2.25, 3.25, ed. Dyson, 640, 73, 81, 87, 134.

[155] *Ibid.*, 3.23 (“illa mala... quae quanto interiora, tanto miseriora... discordiae civiles vel potius inciviles ...; bella socialia, bella servilia, bella civilia quantum Romanum cruorem fuderunt, quantam Italiae vastationem desertionemque fecerunt!”), 3.28, 3.30, ed. Dyson, 132 (translation adapted), 137, 139.

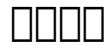
[156] Rohrbacher, *Historians of Late Antiquity*, 135– 49.

[157] Orosius, *Seven Books of History Against the Pagans* 2.18.1, 5.22.6, 8, trans. Fear, 105, 253.

[\[158\]](#) *Ibid.*, 23–24.

[\[159\]](#) Augustine, *City of God Against the Pagans* 19.7, ed. Dyson, 929.

[\[160\]](#) Appian, *Civil Wars* 1.6, trans. Carter, 4; Appian, *Ancient Historie and Exquisite Chronicle of the Romane Wars*, title page.







1608年17月30日，[\[164\]](#) 1622年，*Behemoth* “[\[165\]](#) 1636年，[\[166\]](#) 1750年，[\[167\]](#) 1830年，Adam Smith [\[168\]](#)

[illegible]

内战是欧洲文学中一个反复出现的主题。马基雅维利在1517年出版的《论李维》(Discourses on Livy)中探讨了罗马共和国的内战。16世纪末，克里斯托弗·马洛在1592年创作的《巴黎的屠杀》(The Massacre at Paris)中描绘了法国宗教战争。莎士比亚在1599年创作的《安东尼和克利奥帕特拉》(Antony and Cleopatra)和1606—1607年创作的《约翰王》(King John)中都涉及了内战。亨利六世和理查德二世的内战在17世纪末的《凯提林》(Catiline)中也有提及。<sup>[171]</sup>

16世纪90年代，塞缪尔·丹尼尔在1562—1619年创作的《兰开斯特和约克两王室内战》(The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars Between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke)中详细描述了内战。1609年，丹尼尔在《凯提林》(Catiline)中再次提及内战。<sup>[172]</sup>

内战是欧洲文学中一个反复出现的主题。马基雅维利在1517年出版的《论李维》(Discourses on Livy)中探讨了罗马共和国的内战。16世纪末，克里斯托弗·马洛在1592年创作的《巴黎的屠杀》(The Massacre at Paris)中描绘了法国宗教战争。莎士比亚在1599年创作的《安东尼和克利奥帕特拉》(Antony and Cleopatra)和1606—1607年创作的《约翰王》(King John)中都涉及了内战。亨利六世和理查德二世的内战在17世纪末的《凯提林》(Catiline)中也有提及。<sup>[173]</sup>

我为内战歌唱，动荡啊！破坏啊！

伟大的国度迎来了血腥的内斗：

民众为外国的战利品欢呼而骄傲，

征服的手伸向了自己的同胞：  
亲人反目成仇，兄弟阋墙，  
举着相似旗帜的两军对立：  
士兵手持弓箭，将军头戴皇冠，一触即发，  
都假装是正义，但所有的正义全都被抛诸脑后。 [175]

“”

“”  
17  
[176] 50·Christopher Marlowe  
1564—1593·Arthur Gorges—1625·Thomas May  
[177]  
“” [178]  
·John Milton 1608—1674 10  
12 [179] “”  
[180]

17  
·Sir Robert Filmer 1588—1653  
*Patriarcha* 1680  
*Behemoth* [181] 18  
——·Jean-Jacques Rousseau *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* 1755 1761

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[182]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[183]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[184]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[185]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[186]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[187]</sup>

内讧，最令人恐惧，  
内讧，让儿子割断父亲的喉咙，  
朋友分道扬镳，兄弟反目，  
烧杀抢夺，盗贼肆掠，  
罗马曾经历过，德意志也曾尝试过，  
而往往，荒芜了这高贵的国土。<sup>[188]</sup>

1657年，在《*History of the English Civil Wars*》中，[\[187\]](#)

1640—1641年，在《*History of the English Civil Wars*》中，[\[188\]](#)

当代的冲突超越了贵族同盟战争期间的冲突，也超越了约克家族和兰开斯特家族之间那些单调乏味的争吵，因为这些冲突是在更高的原则下进行的，有更高贵的目的，且产生的影响更广泛。[\[188\]](#)

Giovanni Francesco Biondi在《*History of the Civill Warres of England*》1641年，Enrico Davila在《*Historie of the Civill Warres of France*》1647年，John Adams在《*History of the English Civil Wars*》[\[189\]](#) Richard Fanshawe在1648年，Battista Guarini在《*Il pastor fido*》[\[190\]](#) 1650年，Sir Robert Stapylton在《*History of the Low-Country Warres*》1652年，Sandoval在1653年，[\[191\]](#)

“ ” [192] “ ” [193] —— —— [194]

\*\*\*

17 1604 195 196

16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106 107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114 115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122 123 124 125 126 127 128 129 130 131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138 139 140 141 142 143 144 145 146 147 148 149 150 151 152 153 154 155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162 163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170 171 172 173 174 175 176 177 178 179 180 181 182 183 184 185 186 187 188 189 190 191 192 193 194 195 196 197 198 199 200 201 202 203 204 205 206 207 208 209 210 211 212 213 214 215 216 217 218 219 220 221 222 223 224 225 226 227 228 229 230 231 232 233 234 235 236 237 238 239 240 241 242 243 244 245 246 247 248 249 250 251 252 253 254 255 256 257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274 275 276 277 278 279 280 281 282 283 284 285 286 287 288 289 290 291 292 293 294 295 296 297 298 299 300 301 302 303 304 305 306 307 308 309 310 311 312 313 314 315 316 317 318 319 320 321 322 323 324 325 326 327 328 329 330 331 332 333 334 335 336 337 338 339 340 341 342 343 344 345 346 347 348 349 350 351 352 353 354 355 356 357 358 359 360 361 362 363 364 365 366 367 368 369 370 371 372 373 374 375 376 377 378 379 380 381 382 383 384 385 386 387 388 389 390 391 392 393 394 395 396 397 398 399 400 401 402 403 404 405 406 407 408 409 410 411 412 413 414 415 416 417 418 419 420 421 422 423 424 425 426 427 428 429 430 431 432 433 434 435 436 437 438 439 440 441 442 443 444 445 446 447 448 449 450 451 452 453 454 455 456 457 458 459 460 461 462 463 464 465 466 467 468 469 470 471 472 473 474 475 476 477 478 479 480 481 482 483 484 485 486 487 488 489 490 491 492 493 494 495 496 497 498 499 500 501 502 503 504 505 506 507 508 509 510 511 512 513 514 515 516 517 518 519 520 521 522 523 524 525 526 527 528 529 530 531 532 533 534 535 536 537 538 539 540 541 542 543 544 545 546 547 548 549 550 551 552 553 554 555 556 557 558 559 560 561 562 563 564 565 566 567 568 569 570 571 572 573 574 575 576 577 578 579 580 581 582 583 584 585 586 587 588 589 590 591 592 593 594 595 596 597 598 599 600 601 602 603 604 605 606 607 608 609 610 611 612 613 614 615 616 617 618 619 620 621 622 623 624 625 626 627 628 629 630 631 632 633 634 635 636 637 638 639 640 641 642 643 644 645 646 647 648 649 650 651 652 653 654 655 656 657 658 659 660 661 662 663 664 665 666 667 668 669 670 671 672 673 674 675 676 677 678 679 680 681 682 683 684 685 686 687 688 689 690 691 692 693 694 695 696 697 698 699 700 701 702 703 704 705 706 707 708 709 710 711 712 713 714 715 716 717 718 719 720 721 722 723 724 725 726 727 728 729 730 731 732 733 734 735 736 737 738 739 740 741 742 743 744 745 746 747 748 749 750 751 752 753 754 755 756 757 758 759 760 761 762 763 764 765 766 767 768 769 770 771 772 773 774 775 776 777 778 779 780 781 782 783 784 785 786 787 788 789 790 791 792 793 794 795 796 797 798 799 800 801 802 803 804 805 806 807 808 809 810 811 812 813 814 815 816 817 818 819 820 821 822 823 824 825 826 827 828 829 830 831 832 833 834 835 836 837 838 839 840 841 842 843 844 845 846 847 848 849 850 851 852 853 854 855 856 857 858 859 860 861 862 863 864 865 866 867 868 869 870 871 872 873 874 875 876 877 878 879 880 881 882 883 884 885 886 887 888 889 890 891 892 893 894 895 896 897 898 899 900 901 902 903 904 905 906 907 908 909 910 911 912 913 914 915 916 917 918 919 920 921 922 923 924 925 926 927 928 929 930 931 932 933 934 935 936 937 938 939 940 941 942 943 944 945 946 947 948 949 950 951 952 953 954 955 956 957 958 959 960 961 962 963 964 965 966 967 968 969 970 971 972 973 974 975 976 977 978 979 980 981 982 983 984 985 986 987 988 989 990 991 992 993 994 995 996 997 998 999 1000 1001 1002 1003 1004 1005 1006 1007 1008 1009 1010 1011 1012 1013 1014 1015 1016 1017 1018 1019 1020 1021 1022 1023 1024 1025 1026 1027 1028 1029 1030 1031 1032 1033 1034 1035 1036 1037 1038 1039 1040 1041 1042 1043 1044 1045 1046 1047

霍布斯在《论战争与和平》*The Rights of War and Peace* 1625 年出版，其中对战争的定义是：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
[198]

最普遍和最有必要的战争的划分是这样的：一个战争要么是私人战争，要么是公共战争，要么是两者混合；参战双方均是公共权力的是公共战争。参战双方均是个体的则是私人战争。参战一方是公共权力、另一方是个体的则是混合战争。  
[198]

霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
[199] 霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
[200]

霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
——霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。

霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯·托马斯 Thomas Hobbes 在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
1651 年 [201] 霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。  
霍布斯在《论战争与和平》中定义：“战争是公共权力的战争”。

“*De Civitate*”<sup>[202]</sup>

“*De Civitate*”<sup>[203]</sup> “*civitas*”<sup>[204]</sup> “*socii*”<sup>[205]</sup> “*civitas in civitate*”<sup>[206]</sup>

1645 William Cavendish “*civitas*”<sup>[207]</sup> “*civitas in civitate*”<sup>[208]</sup>

1647 “*civitas*”<sup>[209]</sup> 1649 1 “*civitas*”<sup>[210]</sup>



“[\[209\]](#) 他们……  
[\[210\]](#) 他们……  
……  
……

1649年1月6日“他们……”  
……  
……  
……  
……  
[\[211\]](#) “他们……”  
……

1649年1月……  
……16  
49年1月4日Rump Parliament“他们……”  
1月……  
[\[212\]](#) 14……  
……  
[\[213\]](#) ……

……  
……  
……

显而易见的是，当不存在共同的权力使得人们保持敬畏时，他们身处的状态就是战争；这种战争，属于每个人，同时也对抗每个人。战争，并不一定意味着发生战斗；而是在这段时间里，用战斗来一决

高下的意愿被充分理解……所以战争的本质并不在于实际的打斗，而在于被清楚认知的军事部署，与此相反的说法，无论何时都不可信。剩下的其他时间就是“和平”。<sup>[214]</sup>

“……”  
“……”  
“……”  
“……”  
18“……”  
“……”<sup>[215]</sup>  
“……”  
“……”  
——  
“……”

1588“……”17  
“……”1679——“……”  
“……”<sup>[216]</sup>1688—1  
689“……”1  
689“……”……  
“”<sup>[217]</sup>“……”<sup>[218]</sup>  
1740  
“……”  
“……”<sup>[219]</sup>  
“……”

“[\[220\]](#) 的。……[\[221\]](#) 的。1641 的。17 的。

“[\[A1\]](#) 的。[\[222\]](#) 的。1688 的。1642—1646 的。”

“17 的。1688 的。1642—1646 的。”

英國憲政思想在1641—1649年及1688年兩次革命中  
“憲政”與“自由”<sup>[223]</sup> “憲政”與“自由”在英國憲政思想中  
是兩個密切相關的概念，它們都指向一個共同的目标，即限制  
政府的權力，保護個人的自由。在17世紀，英國人開始思考如何  
限制政府的權力，如何保護個人的自由。他們認為，政府應該受到  
法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。這種思想在17世紀的英國  
得到了廣泛的傳播，並成為英國憲政思想的基礎。

英國憲政思想的奠基人之一，艾爾頓·西德尼（Algernon Sidney）  
—1683年，他在《論自由》（Discourses Concerning Government）  
中提出了“憲政”與“自由”的概念。西德尼認為，政府應該受到  
法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。他在1683年出版的《論自由》  
中，對“憲政”與“自由”進行了深入的探討。西德尼認為，政府  
的權力應該受到法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。他在1683年  
出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”與“自由”進行了深入的探討。  
西德尼認為，政府的權力應該受到法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。  
他在1683年出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”與“自由”進行了  
深入的探討。<sup>[224]</sup>

西德尼的《論自由》是英國憲政思想的重要著作之一。他在書中  
提出了“憲政”與“自由”的概念，並對它們進行了深入的探討。  
西德尼認為，政府應該受到法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。他  
在1683年出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”與“自由”進行了  
深入的探討。西德尼認為，政府的權力應該受到法律的約束，個  
人應該享有自由。他在1683年出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”  
與“自由”進行了深入的探討。<sup>[225]</sup>

西德尼的《論自由》是英國憲政思想的重要著作之一。他在書中  
提出了“憲政”與“自由”的概念，並對它們進行了深入的探討。  
西德尼認為，政府應該受到法律的約束，個人應該享有自由。他  
在1683年出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”與“自由”進行了  
深入的探討。西德尼認為，政府的權力應該受到法律的約束，個  
人應該享有自由。他在1683年出版的《論自由》中，對“憲政”  
與“自由”進行了深入的探討。<sup>[225]</sup>

“...[226]

“...[227] ...[228]

——17  
20 Sir Robert Filmer *Patriarcha*  
“...  
” Tarquinius Superbus  
480 “...  
...  
——  
——“...  
...  
...[229]

“...[230]

\*\*\*

“[\[231\]](#) 1734 Baron de Montesquieu 1689—1755 “[\[232\]](#) 18

19 Théodore Jouffroy 1796—1842 “[\[233\]](#)

---

[\[A1\]](#) James II’s brother-in-law “/”

[\[161\]](#) hobbes, *On the Citizen*, ed. Tuck and Silverthorne, 4.

[162] Armitage, Condren, and Fitzmaurice, *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*; Skinner, *Forensic Shakespeare*

[163] Burke, “Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450—1700.”

[164] Jensen, “Reading Florus in Early Modern England”; Jensen, *Reading the Roman Republic in Early Modern England*, 56–73.

[165] Schuhmann, “Hobbes’s Concept of History,” 3–4; Hobbes, *Behemoth; or, The Long Parliament*, 52.

[166] Grafton, *What Was History?*, 194 – 95; see Wheare, *Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories*, trans. Bohun, 77–78, on “the body of the Roman History ... the Picture of which in Little is most Artfully drawn by our L. Annaeus Florus.”

[167] *Statutes of the University of Oxford Codified in the Year 1636 Under the Authority of Archbishop Laud*, 37.

[168] Eutropius, *Eutropii historiæ romanæ breviarum*; Philipson, *Adam Smith*, 18, plates 2–3.

[169] Mac Cormack, *On the Wings of Time*, 15, 72, 76.

[170] Garcilaso de la Vega, *Historia general del Peru trata el descubrimiento del; y como lo ganaron los Españoles*.

[171] Montaigne, *Essays Written in French by Michael Lord of Montaigne*, trans. Florio, 547.

[172] Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism*, 103–29, has called this tetralogy “Shakespeare’s *Pharsalia*.”

[173] Bentley, *Shakespeare and Jonson*, 1:112; Donaldson, “Talking with Ghosts: Ben Jonson and the English Civil War.”

[174] *Shakespeare’s Appian*; Logan, “Daniel’s Civil Wars and Lucan’s *Pharsalia*”; Logan, “Lucan-Daniel-Shakespeare.”

[175] Daniel, *The First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars Between the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, sig. B[i]r.

[176] Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 24.

[177] Shapiro, “ ‘Metre Meete to Furnish Lucan’s Style’ ”; Gibson, “Civil War in 1614”; Norbrook, “Lucan, Thomas May, and the Creation of a Republican Literary Culture”; Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 43–50.

[178] May, *History of the Parliament of England Which Began November the Third, MDCXL*, sig. A3v; Pocock, “Thomas May and the Narrative of Civil War.”



[179]Milton, *Paradise Lost*; Hale, “*Paradise Lost*”; Norbrook, *Writing the English Republic*, 438 – 67, 443.

[180]Mc Dowell, “Towards a Poetics of Civil War,” 344.

[181]Filmer, *Patriarcha*, title page, quoting Lucan, *Bellum civile* 3.145 – 46 (“*Libertas...Populi, quem regna coercent / Libertate perit*”); Hobbes, *Behemoth: The History of the Causes of the Civil-Wars of England*, title page, adapting Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.1–2 (“*Bella per Angliacos plusquam civilia campos, / Jusque datum sceleri loquimur*”); Hobbes, *Behemoth; or, The Long Parliament*, 90,92.

[182]Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Extrait du projet de paix perpétuelle de monsieur l’abbé de Saint-Pierre*, title page (quoting Lucan, *Bellum civile* 4.4–5); Rousseau, *Discourse on the Origin and Foundations of Inequality Among Men*, in *Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, trans. Gourevitch, 185 (quoting Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.376 –78).

[183]Lucan, *Pharsale de M. A. Lucain*, trans. Chasles and Greslou, 1:xvii (quoting Lucan, *Bellum civile* 4.579).

[184]Mason, ed., *The Darnton Debate*

[185]“*Intestinae Simultates*,” in Whitney, *Choice of Emblems and Other Devises*, 7.

[186]Seaward, "Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe."

[187]Grotius, *De Rebus Belgicis*, 1.

[188]Corbet, *Historicall Relation of the Military Governm ent of Gloucester*, sig. A2v.

[189]Biondi, "Civill Warrs of England," trans. Henry, Earl of Monmouth; Biondi, *History of the Civill Warres of England, Betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, trans. Henry, Earl of Monmouth; Davila, *Historie of the Civill Warres of France*, trans. Cotterell and Aylesbury; Adams, *Discourses o n Davila*.

[190]Guarini, *Il Pastor Fido*, trans. Fanshawe, 303 –12.

[191]Sandoval, *Civil Wars of Spain in the Beginning of th e Reign of Charls the 5t,Emperor of Germanie and King*.

[192]Samuel Kem, *The Messengers Preparation for an A ddress to the King* (1644),quoted in Donagan, *War in Englan d, 1642—1649*, 132; compare Robert Doughty, "Charge to t he Tax Commissioners of South Erpingham, North Erpingha m, North Greenhoe, and Hold Hundreds" (Feb. 1664), in *Not ebook of Robert Doughty, 1662—1665*, 123: "our late uncivil civil wars."

[193] Davila, *History of the Civil Wars of France*, trans. C. Otterell and Aylesbury, sig.A2r.

[194] Dugdale, *Short View of the Late Troubles in England*. Compare also Adamson, “Baronial Context of the English Civil War,” □□□□□□ Adamson, *Noble Revolt* □

[195] Larrère, “Grotius et la distinction entre guerre privé et guerre publique.”

[196] Grotius, *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, 50 (“aut civile in partem eiusdem reipublicae: aut externum, in alius, cuius species est quod sociali dicitur”). □□□□□□□□ □□□□□□□□ Straumann, *Roman Law in the State of Nature* □

[197] Grotius, *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, 80 (“bella Christianorum esse civilia, quasi vero totius Christianus Orbis una sit republica”), referring to Vázquez de Menchaca, *Controversiarum illustrium...libri tres*.

[198] Grotius, *Rights of War and Peace* 1.3.1, 1:240.

[199] Ibid., 1.4.19.1, 1:381, quoting Plutarch’s *Life of Brutus* and Cicero’s *Second Philippic*.

[200] Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (1762), in *Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, 42– 43, 44 – 45.

[201] Hobbes, *Leviathan*, 3:850.

[202] Thomas Hobbes, *De Corpore* 1.7, in *Elements of Law, Natural and Politic*, 190 (“causa igitur belli civilis est, quod bellorum ac pacis causa ignoratur”), 191.

[203] hobbes, *On the Citizen* 1.12, 29 –30.

[204] *Ibid.*, 11–12.

[205] hobbes to Cavendish, July 1645, in Hobbes, *Correspondence*, 1:120.

[206] hobbes, *On the Citizen*, 82, 124 (“et bellum civile nascitur”), 149.

[207] *Ibid.*, 15.

[208] Kelsey, “Ordinance for the Trial of Charles I”; Kelsey, “Trial of Charles I”; Holmes, “Trial and Execution of Charles I”

[209] Donagan, *War in England, 1642—1649*, 130.

[210] Orr, “Juristic Foundation of Regicide.”

[211] “An Act of the Commons of England Assembled in Parliament for Erecting a High Court of Justice, for the Trying and Judging of Charles Stuart, King of England” ( Jan. 6, 1649), in *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642—1660*, ed. Firth and Rait, 1:1253 –54 (my emphasis). Heath, *Chronicle of the Late Intestine War in the Three Kingdomes of Engl*

*and, Scotland, and Ireland*, 194 – 95, and “The Act Erecting a High Court of Justice for the King’s Trial” ( Jan. 6, 1649), in Gardiner, *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625—1660*, 357, have “civil war” in place of “cruel War,” but this is not attested in, for example, “An Ordinance of the Commons in England in Parliament Assembled with a List of the Commissioners & Officers of the Said Court by Them Elected” ( Jan. 3, 1649), British Library E.536(35), fol. 1r, or in[ John Nalson], *A True Copy of the Journal of the High Court of Justice, for the Tryal of K. Charles I*, 2.

[212] *Journals of the House of Commons*, 6:107, 111, quoted in Orr, *Treason and the State*, 173.

[213] Bauman, *Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate*, 271–77; Orr, *Treason and the State*, 12, 44 – 45 (referring to 25 Edward III, st. 5, c. 3); *Digest* 48.4.3.

[214] hobbes, *Leviathan*, 2:192.

[215] *Ibid.*, 2:256, 274, 278, 282.

[216] hobbes, “Questions Relative to Hereditary Right” (1679), in *Writings on Common Law and Hereditary Right*, 177– 78.

[217] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 137 (“The Preface”).

[218] Woolhouse, *Locke*, 11.

[219] □□ Harrison and Laslett, *Library of John Locke*, items 2, 561– 62, 927, 1146 – 48, 1818 –19, 2792b, 3060□

[220] Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, 278 (*2nd Treatise*, § 16).

[221] *Ibid.*, 416 –17 (*2nd Treatise*, §§ 227, 228).

[222] Locke, “On Allegiance and the Revolution” (ca. April 1690), in *Political Essays*, 307.

[223] Pocock, “Fourth English Civil War,” 153, 159.

[224] Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, 198, 187– 89.

[225] *Ibid.*, 193, 196 – 99.

[226] Sidney, *Court Maxims*, 20.

[227] Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, 121.

[228] *Ibid.*, 198.

[229] Filmer, *Patriarcha*, 54, 55–56, 57, 58.

[230] Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, 120.

[231] *Ibid.*, 172.

[\[232\]](#) Montesquieu, *Reflections on the Causes of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 61; Bates, *States of War*, 160 – 64.

[\[233\]](#) Jouffroy, *Mélanges philosophiques par Théodore Jouffroy*, 140 (“Les guerres civiles de l’Europe sont finies”).







然而，在17世紀，歐洲各國的歷史學家開始將羅馬視為一個「模型」，並以此為標準來衡量其他國家的政治制度。這種做法在當時是相當普遍的，因為羅馬的歷史和制度被認為是西方文明的根源。因此，許多歷史學家都試圖從羅馬的歷史中找到一些可以借鑒的地方，以改善當前的政治制度。這種做法在當時是相當普遍的，因為羅馬的歷史和制度被認為是西方文明的根源。因此，許多歷史學家都試圖從羅馬的歷史中找到一些可以借鑒的地方，以改善當前的政治制度。

17世紀的歷史學家開始將羅馬視為一個「模型」，並以此為標準來衡量其他國家的政治制度。這種做法在當時是相當普遍的，因為羅馬的歷史和制度被認為是西方文明的根源。因此，許多歷史學家都試圖從羅馬的歷史中找到一些可以借鑒的地方，以改善當前的政治制度。<sup>[240]</sup> 例如，Laurence Echard（1672—1730）在其著作 *The Roman History from the Building of the City to the Perfect Settlement of the Empire by Augustus Cæsar*（1695）中，就將羅馬的歷史視為一個完整的模型。同樣地，Pierre Joseph d'Orléans（1603—1699）在其著作 *The History of the Revolutions in England Under the Family of the Stuarts, from the Year 1603 to 1690*（1722）中，也將羅馬的歷史作為一個參考模型。Vertot（1719）在其著作 *Histoire des révolutions arrivées dans le gouvernement de la république romaine*（1719）中，更是將羅馬的歷史視為一個完整的模型。<sup>[241]</sup> 然而，這種做法在當時也引起了一些爭議，因為有些人認為羅馬的歷史和制度已經過時，不應該作為現代政治制度的參考。儘管如此，這種做法在當時還是相當普遍的，因為羅馬的歷史和制度被認為是西方文明的根源。因此，許多歷史學家都試圖從羅馬的歷史中找到一些可以借鑒的地方，以改善當前的政治制度。<sup>[242]</sup>

然而，在17世紀，歐洲各國的歷史學家開始將羅馬視為一個「模型」，並以此為標準來衡量其他國家的政治制度。這種做法在當時是相當普遍的，因為羅馬的歷史和制度被認為是西方文明的根源。因此，許多歷史學家都試圖從羅馬的歷史中找到一些可以借鑒的地方，以改善當前的政治制度。1680年，



國際法學名著叢書 *The Law of Nations* 1758 [\[A1\]](#) 國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書·國際法學名著叢書 1776 國際法學名著叢書

國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書 19 30 國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書

國際法學名著叢書 17 國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書·國際  
國際法學名著叢書·國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書“國際  
國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書——國際法學名著叢書 *jus ad bellum*  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書 *jus en bello* 國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書“國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書——國際法學名著叢書 4 國際法學名著叢書——“國際  
國際法學名著叢書.....國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書 [\[246\]](#) 國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書“國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書

國際法學名著叢書“國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書  
國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書國際法學名著叢書“國際法學名著叢書”國際法學名著叢書“國際法學名著叢書”







——  
2  
20% 1783 50  
6 1.5  
[260] “  
[261]

18  
1766  
William Bolla 1776  
“.....  
” “  
” “  
[262] 10  
Richard Price 1723—1791  
“  
” [263]

1776



当罗马共和国日趋衰微的时候，负有防御国家扩大帝国重任的罗马同盟国，都要求享有与罗马市民所享的同样特权。在共和国拒绝它们的要求时，内战就爆发了。在这样的战争中，罗马将此种特权，一个一个地给予大部分同盟国，而且按它们的独立程度给予……假若对要脱离联盟的各殖民地，英国都许其按所纳国税的比例选举代表，而且由于纳税而允其自由贸易……那么各殖民地领导人物，就有了一种夺取重要地位的新方法，以及一个新的更迷人的野心对象了。 [264]

1776年7月，在费城，大陆会议决定将《独立宣言》正式签署。这一举动标志着北美殖民地正式宣布脱离英国的统治，成为独立的国家。这一事件是美国历史上最重要的时刻之一，它不仅确立了美国的独立，也为后来的国家发展奠定了基础。

“社会契约论”是启蒙运动时期的重要思想，它认为政府的权力来源于人民的同意。这一理论为后来的民主制度提供了理论基础。在1776年7月4日，大陆会议通过了《独立宣言》，其中明确提到了“社会契约”的概念。这一宣言不仅宣告了美国的独立，也确立了人民主权的原则。 [265]

1775年4月，在波士顿，英国军队与北美民兵发生了第一次武装冲突，即莱克星顿战役。这一事件标志着美国独立战争的开始。在1775年4月24日，The Newport Mercury 报道了这一消息，称“一场内战正在爆发”。 [266] 1775—1776年，美国独立战争进入关键阶段，最终导致了美国的独立。

with America 的“内战” American civil war [267] 1780 年  
詹姆斯·科本特在《Emma Corbett, or, The miseries of c  
ivil war》中描述了“内战”的悲惨景象 [268] 50  
年“内战”期间，詹姆斯·库珀 James Fenimore Cooper 的  
作品反映了这一时期。

英国和美利坚合众国的分歧，虽然严格地说不是一场家族争吵，  
但也有许多内战所具备的特点。虽然美国从来都没有在宪法上完全归  
属于英国，但是两国人民都共同效忠于同一个国王。美国人民以一个  
国家的身份，背弃效忠的誓言，而英国人选择维护他们的统治，重新  
恢复国王对美国的主权，在这场冲突中，内部纷争的大部分特征都得  
以体现。 [269]

“内战”期间，英国和美国的分歧——1642—1645 1648  
—1649 1649—1651 年期间，英国和美国的分歧 [270]  
17 18 世纪“内战”期间 [270]

1775 7 月，詹姆斯·库珀在《Emma Corbett, or, The miseries of c  
ivil war》中描述了“内战”的悲惨景象 [271] 1  
775 7 月，詹姆斯·库珀在《Emma Corbett, or, The miseries of c  
ivil war》中描述了“内战”的悲惨景象 [271] 1

Lord North 1775 7 26 “ ” [272] 1775 8 1775 12 20

1776 1 “ ” “ ” [273]

“ ” 30 8 19 ‘ ’ ..... [274]

17 1688—1689 “ ”

“[\[275\]](#)”  
“[\[275\]](#)”

17767  
“[\[276\]](#)”  
civil society  
1066

“[\[277\]](#)”  
1775  
“[\[278\]](#)”  
“[\[279\]](#)”  
the American War

“[\[280\]](#)”  
1812  
José María Cos  
1816



“ ” [285]

18 [286] “ ” · François Furet “ ” [287]

1789 [288] *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* “ Luther Apostle Paul 1789—1841 1848 1789 1793—1795 ” [A3]

“ ” 1789 1789

1789 — —

· 埃德蒙·伯克 Edmund Burke 1729—1797 是 18 世纪英国最伟大的政治思想家之一。他最著名的著作是 1790 年出版的《法国大革命反思》（*Reflections on the Revolution in France*）。在这本书中，他强烈反对法国大革命，认为革命是暴力和混乱的根源，并主张维护传统的宪政制度。伯克的思想对后来的保守主义运动产生了深远影响。

伯克在《法国大革命反思》中提出，革命不是通过暴力推翻旧制度，而是通过渐进的、有机的改革来实现的。他认为，1688—1689 年的“光荣革命”是英国历史上的一次重要转折点，因为它确立了议会的权威，并限制了君主的权力。伯克在书中写道：“革命不是一场战争，而是一场和平的过渡。”（*Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 1790）——

即使有也很少是在不使用武力的情况下进行的。它就是一场战争，而且不符合宪法。法律在武力中不能发声，当无法继续维护平时，法庭与和平一同倒下。1688 年的革命是通过一场正义的战争得来的，在所有的战争里，尤其是在内战中，这是唯一正义的战争。只有对于将战争视为必要的人们，战争才是正义的（*Justa bella quibus necessaria*）。 [289]

伯克在《法国大革命反思》中还提到，革命是一场“暴力”的过渡，而不是一场“和平”的过渡。他认为，1690 年的革命是一场正义的战争，因为它是为了维护宪政制度而进行的。伯克在书中写道：“革命不是一场战争，而是一场和平的过渡。” [290] 伯克认为，革命是一场暴力，而不是一场和平的过渡。他认为，1690 年的革命是一场正义的战争，因为它是为了维护宪政制度而进行的。伯克在书中写道：“革命不是一场战争，而是一场和平的过渡。” [290]

1688

1789 “*Justa bella quibus nece*  
*ssaria*” [291]

1789 [292] 1791 [293]





美国革命期间，美国人民在1793—1795年期间，  
15年[297] 美国人民在1793—1795年期间，  
——“美国人民在1793—1795年期间，  
”[298] 美国人民在1793—1795年期间，  
“美国人民”[299]

美国人民在1870年期间，  
“美国”“美国”“美国”—1776年10月期间，  
1779年期间，  
*Observations on the American Revolution* [300] 美国  
Francois Guizot [301] 1826  
17年期间，“美国”“美国”“美国”  
” [301]

美国人民在1871年期间，  
“美国”“美国”“美国” [302]  
20年期间，*The Civil War in France* 1871年期间，  
1871年期间，  
“美国”“美国”“美国” [303] 美国  
1916年期间， [304]

“[305]” [305] [306] [307] [308]

[A1] “[309]” [310]

[A2] [311]

[A3] scarlet thread [312]

[234] Abdul-Ahad, “ ‘Syria Is Not a Revolution Any More.’ ”

[235] Compare Viola, “Rivoluzione e guerra civile,” 24: “In un certo senso la rivoluzione sprovincializza la guerra civile.”

[236] Arendt, *On Revolution*, 12.

[237] *Encyclopédie* “ ” Civil war *Guerre*  
*Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française* (1762) *Guerre*  
*civile, & guerre intestine* “ La guerre qui s’allume entre les  
peuples d’un même État ” the ARTFL Project’s “Dictionnaires  
d’autrefois” [http://artflproject.uchicago.edu /content/dictionnaires-dautrefois](http://artflproject.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-dautrefois).

[238] Koselleck, “Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution,” trans. Tribe, 47, 48, 49 *revolution* *civil war*  
*Koselleck, Critique and Crisis*, 160 – 61; Bulst et al., “Revolution, Rebellion, Aufruhr, Bürgerkrieg,” esp. 712 –14, 726 –27, 778 – 80

[239] Momigliano, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian,” 294; Goulemot, *Le règne de l’histoire*, 127–56.

[240] Echard, *The Roman History from the Building of the City to the Perfect Settlement of the Empire by Augustus Cæsar*.

[241] Vertot, *Histoire de la conjuration de Portugal*; Vertot, *Histoire des révolutions de Suède où l’on voit les changements qui sont arrivez*; Vertot, *Histoire des révolutions de Portugal*.

[242] Trakulhun, “Das Ende der Ming-Dynastie in China (1644).”

[243] Sidney, *Discourses Concerning Government*, 195 – 96.

[244] Vattel, *Law of Nations* (1758), 3.18.293, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 645.

[245] “A Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled” ( July 4, 1776), in Armitage, *Declaration of Independence*, 165.

[246] Vattel, *Law of Nations* 1.4.51, 3.1.1–2, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 105, 469.

[247] *Ibid.*, 3.18.287, 290, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 641, 642.

[248] “Thomas Jefferson’s ‘Original Rough Draft’ of the Declaration of Independence,” in Armitage, *Declaration of Independence*, 161.

[249] Vattel, *Law of Nations* 3.18.292, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 644 – 45. On Vattel’s doctrine of civil war, see Reich, *Enemies of Mankind*, 209 –13, 216 –20.

[250] Vattel, *Law of Nations* 3.18.293, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 645.

[251] *Ibid.*, 3.18.295, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 648 – 49.

[252]Zurbuchen, “Vattel’s ‘Law of Nations’ and the Principle of Non-intervention”;Pitts, “Intervention and Sovereign Equality.”

[253]Vattel, *Law of Nations* 2.4.56, ed. Kapossy and Whattmore, 290 – 91.

[254]Braund, “Bernard Romans.”

[255]Romans, *To the Honorable John Hancock Esquire*; Romans, *Philadelphia, July 12.1775*.

[256]Romans, *Annals of the Troubles in the Netherlands*.

[257]Belcher, *First American Civil War*, is the exception that proves the rule.

[258]Paine, *Common Sense*, in *Collected Writings*, 25.

[259]O’Shaughnessy, *Empire Divided*; more generally, see Armitage, “First Atlantic Crisis.”

[260]Lawson, “Anatomy of a Civil War”; Shy, *People Numerous and Armed*,183– 92; Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 223 –37, 239– 44; Simms, *Three Victories and a Defeat*, 593–600; Klooster, *Revolutions in the Atlantic World*,11–44; Jasanoff, *Liberty’s Exiles*, 21–53.

[261]Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, 352.

[262]Bollan, *The Freedom of Speech and Writing upon Public Affairs, Considered;with an Historical View of the Roman Imperial Laws Against Libels*, 158 -59.□□Bollan□□□□□□□□□□  
York, "Defining and Defending Colonial American Rights," 213□

[263]Price, *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*, 91.

[264]Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* 4.7.c, ed.Campbell and Skinner, 2:622.

[265]Pocock, "Political Thought in the English-Speaking Atlantic, 1760—1790,"256 -57.

[266]*Newport Mercury*, April 24, 1775, quoted in Breen, *American Insurgents,American Patriots*, 281- 82.

[267]*Civil War; a Poem*; Hartley, *Substance of a Speech in Parliament, upon the State of the Nation and the Present Civil War with America*, 19; Roebuck, *Enquiry,Whether the Guilt of the Present Civil War in America, Ought to Be Imputed to Great Britain or America*.

[268][Jackson], *Emma Corbett*; Wahrman, *Making of the Modern Self*, 243 - 44.

[269]Cooper, introduction (1831) to *Spy*, 13; Larkin, "What Is a Loyalist?"

[270] Pocock, *Three British Revolutions, 1641, 1688, 1776*.

[271] “A Declaration...Setting Forth the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up Arms” ( July 6, 1775), in Hutson, *Decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind*, 96, 97(my emphasis).

[272] Lord North to George III, July 26, 1775, quoted in Marshall, *Making and Unmaking of Empires*, 338.

[273] Paine, *Common Sense*, in *Collected Writings*, 45 – 46.

[274] Ibid., 18 –19. Compare Howell, *Twelve Several Treatises, of the Late Revolutions in These Three Kingdomes*, 118, where the total of “rebellions” since 1066 is given as “near upon a hundred.”

[275] On Paine and the “republican turn” in 1776, see Nelson, *Royalist Revolution*, 108–45.

[276] “Declaration by the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress Assembled” ( July 4, 1776), in Armitage, *Declaration of Independence*, 165, 170.

[277] Beaulac, “Emer de Vattel and the Externalization of Sovereignty.”



[278]Franklin to C. G. F. Dumas, Dec. 9, 1775, in *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 22:287.

[279]Armitage, *Declaration of Independence*, 165, 166.

[280]Lempérière, “Revolución, guerra civil, guerra de independencia en el mundo hispánico, 1808—1825”; Adelman, “Age of Imperial Revolutions”; Pani, “Ties Unbound”; Lucena Giraldo, *Naciones de rebeldes*; Pérez Vejo, *Elegía criolla*.

[281]José María Cos, “Plan de Guerra” (June 10, 1812), in Guedea, *Textos insurgentes (1808—1821)*, 52–55; San Martín to Tomás Godoy Cruz, April 12, 1816, quoted in John Lynch, *San Martín*, trans. Chaparro, 131.

[282]Baker, “Revolution 1.0,” 189; Baker, “Inventing the French Revolution,” 203, 223.

[283]Snow, “Concept of Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England”; Rachum, “Meaning of ‘Revolution’ in the English Revolution (London, 1648—1660).” For an alternative view, see Harris, “Did the English Have a Script for Revolution in the Seventeenth Century?”

[284]hobbes, *Behemoth; or, The Long Parliament*, 389.

[285]Edelstein, “Do We Want a Revolution Without Revolution?”; compare Rey, “*Révolution*”; William H. Sewell Jr., “Hi

historical Events as Transformations of Structures: Inventing Revolution at the Bastille,” in *Logics of History*, 225 –70.

[286] Vlassopoulos, “Acquiring (a) Historicity,” 166.

[287] Furet, “The Revolutionary Catechism,” in *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Forster, 83.

[288] Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1851), in *Selected Writings*, 300.

[289] Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 26 – 27 (quoting Livy, *Histories* 9.1.10) (my emphasis).

[290] Burke, *Letter from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke*, 41.

[291] Vattel, *Law of Nations* 3.3.36, ed. Kapossy and Whammore, 488. The fuller quotation reads, “Justum est bellum, quibus necessaria; et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes.”

[292] Burke, “Speech on the Seizure and Confiscation of Private Property in St. Eustatius” (May 14, 1781), in *Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803*, vol. 22, col. 231.

[293] Burke, *Thoughts on French Affairs*, in *Further Reflections on the Revolution in France*, 207.

[294]Vattel, *Law of Nations* 2.4.56, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 291; compare *ibid.*, 3.16.253, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 627.

[295]Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace,” in *Practical Philosophy*, trans. Gregor, 319 –20; Hurrell, “Revisiting Kant and Intervention,” 198.

[296]Burke, “First Letter on a Regicide Peace” (Oct. 20, 1796), and Burke, “Second Letter on a Regicide Peace” (1796), in *Revolutionary War, 1794—1797*, 187, 267; Armitage, *Foundations of Modern International Thought*, 163 – 69.

[297]Martin, “Rivoluzione francese e guerra civile”; Martin, “La guerre civile”; Andress, *Terror*; Martin, *La Vendée et la Révolution*

[298]Mayer, *Furies*, 4 – 5.

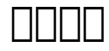
[299]Serna, “Toute révolution est guerre d’indépendance.”

[300]Drayton, *Charge, on the Rise of the American Empire*, 2, 8, 15.

[301]Guizot, *Histoire de la révolution d’Angleterre, depuis l’avènement de Charles Ier jusqu’à la restauration*, 1:xvii: “Telle est enfin l’analogie des deux révolutions que la premi



[\[308\]](#) Compare Eckstein, "On the Etiology of Internal Wars," 133; Canal, "Guerra civil y contrarrevolución en la Europa del sur en el siglo XIX," 46.



# 前言

## 1900

1863年11月19日，亚伯拉罕·林肯 Abraham Lincoln (1809—1865) 在葛底斯堡发表了著名的葛底斯堡演说。87年前，我们的祖先在这个大陆上给我们带来了一个新的共和国。她孕育于自由之中，并且献身于人人生而平等这一理想。如今我们卷入了一场伟大的内战，这考验着这个国家，或者任何一个孕育于自由之中并献身于上述理想的国家，能否存续下去。<sup>[309]</sup>

87年前，我们的祖先在这个大陆上给我们带来了一个新的共和国。她孕育于自由之中，并且献身于人人生而平等这一理想。如今我们卷入了一场伟大的内战，这考验着这个国家，或者任何一个孕育于自由之中并献身于上述理想的国家，能否存续下去。<sup>[309]</sup>

——林肯在葛底斯堡的演说——  
“人人生而平等”<sup>[310]</sup> 272年前，我们的祖先在这个大陆上给我们带来了一个新的共和国。她孕育于自由之中，并且献身于人人生而平等这一理想。如今我们卷入了一场伟大的内战，这考验着这个国家，或者任何一个孕育于自由之中并献身于上述理想的国家，能否存续下去。<sup>[311]</sup>

1861年4月，南方邦联在萨姆特堡开火，内战爆发。1865年4月，罗伯特·E·李 Robert E. Lee 在阿波马托克斯投降。87年前，我们的祖先在这个大陆上给我们带来了一个新的共和国。她孕育于自由之中，并且献身于人人生而平等这一理想。如今我们卷入了一场伟大的内战，这考验着这个国家，或者任何一个孕育于自由之中并献身于上述理想的国家，能否存续下去。<sup>[311]</sup>





[314] 國際社會主義聯盟（即第三國際）的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。

國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。1848年《共產黨宣言》的發表，標誌著科學社會主義的誕生。19世紀40年代，歐洲工人運動興起，工人階級開始以獨立的力量登上歷史舞台。——國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。[315] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。1762年，盧梭在《社會契約論》中提出，社會契約是國家合法性的基礎。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。[316] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。

國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。1832年，英國通過了《改革法案》，標誌著英國工人階級開始以獨立的力量登上歷史舞台。[317] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。Che Guevara（切·格瓦拉）是古巴革命的重要領導人。[318] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。Antoine Henri Jomini（安托萬·亨利·若米尼）是18世紀末至19世紀初的法國軍事家。1779—1869年，他生活於此。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。[319] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。1864年，英國通過了《工廠法》，標誌著英國工人階級開始以獨立的力量登上歷史舞台。[320] 國際社會主義聯盟的成立，是國際工人運動發展到一個新階段的標誌。它標誌著國際工人運動從分散的、孤立的鬥爭，轉向了有組織的、有領導的鬥爭。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。Gustave Moynier（古斯塔夫·莫尼耶）是1870年，他生活於此。——馬克思和恩格斯在《共產黨宣言》中提出，工人階級必須組織一個獨立的政黨，才能實現自己的解放。

\*\*\*

“ ” 1863  
1865 “ ”  
20 “ ”

中国公民出境前，应当向其户籍所在地县级以上地方人民政府公安机关出入境管理机构申请，按照规定填写出境申请表，并提交符合规定的照片、证明、证件等材料。

“[\[321\]](#)”[\[322\]](#)19<sup>th</sup> century French literature. [\[323\]](#) Victor Hugo (1802–1885) wrote *Les Misérables* in 1865. [\[324\]](#) [\[325\]](#) [\[326\]](#) [\[327\]](#) [\[328\]](#) [\[329\]](#) [\[330\]](#) [\[331\]](#) [\[332\]](#) [\[333\]](#) [\[334\]](#) [\[335\]](#) [\[336\]](#) [\[337\]](#) [\[338\]](#) [\[339\]](#) [\[340\]](#) [\[341\]](#) [\[342\]](#) [\[343\]](#) [\[344\]](#) [\[345\]](#) [\[346\]](#) [\[347\]](#) [\[348\]](#) [\[349\]](#) [\[350\]](#) [\[351\]](#) [\[352\]](#) [\[353\]](#) [\[354\]](#) [\[355\]](#) [\[356\]](#) [\[357\]](#) [\[358\]](#) [\[359\]](#) [\[360\]](#) [\[361\]](#) [\[362\]](#) [\[363\]](#) [\[364\]](#) [\[365\]](#) [\[366\]](#) [\[367\]](#) [\[368\]](#) [\[369\]](#) [\[370\]](#) [\[371\]](#) [\[372\]](#) [\[373\]](#) [\[374\]](#) [\[375\]](#) [\[376\]](#) [\[377\]](#) [\[378\]](#) [\[379\]](#) [\[380\]](#) [\[381\]](#) [\[382\]](#) [\[383\]](#) [\[384\]](#) [\[385\]](#) [\[386\]](#) [\[387\]](#) [\[388\]](#) [\[389\]](#) [\[390\]](#) [\[391\]](#) [\[392\]](#) [\[393\]](#) [\[394\]](#) [\[395\]](#) [\[396\]](#) [\[397\]](#) [\[398\]](#) [\[399\]](#) [\[400\]](#) [\[401\]](#) [\[402\]](#) [\[403\]](#) [\[404\]](#) [\[405\]](#) [\[406\]](#) [\[407\]](#) [\[408\]](#) [\[409\]](#) [\[410\]](#) [\[411\]](#) [\[412\]](#) [\[413\]](#) [\[414\]](#) [\[415\]](#) [\[416\]](#) [\[417\]](#) [\[418\]](#) [\[419\]](#) [\[420\]](#) [\[421\]](#) [\[422\]](#) [\[423\]](#) [\[424\]](#) [\[425\]](#) [\[426\]](#) [\[427\]](#) [\[428\]](#) [\[429\]](#) [\[430\]](#) [\[431\]](#) [\[432\]](#) [\[433\]](#) [\[434\]](#) [\[435\]](#) [\[436\]](#) [\[437\]](#) [\[438\]](#) [\[439\]](#) [\[440\]](#) [\[441\]](#) [\[442\]](#) [\[443\]](#) [\[444\]](#) [\[445\]](#) [\[446\]](#) [\[447\]](#) [\[448\]](#) [\[449\]](#) [\[450\]](#) [\[451\]](#) [\[452\]](#) [\[453\]](#) [\[454\]](#) [\[455\]](#) [\[456\]](#) [\[457\]](#) [\[458\]](#) [\[459\]](#) [\[460\]](#) [\[461\]](#) [\[462\]](#) [\[463\]](#) [\[464\]](#) [\[465\]](#) [\[466\]](#) [\[467\]](#) [\[468\]](#) [\[469\]](#) [\[470\]](#) [\[471\]](#) [\[472\]](#) [\[473\]](#) [\[474\]](#) [\[475\]](#) [\[476\]](#) [\[477\]](#) [\[478\]](#) [\[479\]](#) [\[480\]](#) [\[481\]](#) [\[482\]](#) [\[483\]](#) [\[484\]](#) [\[485\]](#) [\[486\]](#) [\[487\]](#) [\[488\]](#) [\[489\]](#) [\[490\]](#) [\[491\]](#) [\[492\]](#) [\[493\]](#) [\[494\]](#) [\[495\]](#) [\[496\]](#) [\[497\]](#) [\[498\]](#) [\[499\]](#) [\[500\]](#) [\[501\]](#) [\[502\]](#) [\[503\]](#) [\[504\]](#) [\[505\]](#) [\[506\]](#) [\[507\]](#) [\[508\]](#) [\[509\]](#) [\[510\]](#) [\[511\]](#) [\[512\]](#) [\[513\]](#) [\[514\]](#) [\[515\]](#) [\[516\]](#) [\[517\]](#) [\[518\]](#) [\[519\]](#) [\[520\]](#) [\[521\]](#) [\[522\]](#) [\[523\]](#) [\[524\]](#) [\[525\]](#) [\[526\]](#) [\[527\]](#) [\[528\]](#) [\[529\]](#) [\[530\]](#) [\[531\]](#) [\[532\]](#) [\[533\]](#) [\[534\]](#) [\[535\]](#) [\[536\]](#) [\[537\]](#) [\[538\]](#) [\[539\]](#) [\[540\]](#) [\[541\]](#) [\[542\]](#) [\[543\]](#) [\[544\]](#) [\[545\]](#) [\[546\]](#) [\[547\]](#) [\[548\]](#) [\[549\]](#) [\[550\]](#) [\[551\]](#) [\[552\]](#) [\[553\]](#) [\[554\]](#) [\[555\]](#) [\[556\]](#) [\[557\]](#) [\[558\]](#) [\[559\]](#) [\[560\]](#) [\[561\]](#) [\[562\]](#) [\[563\]](#) [\[564\]](#) [\[565\]](#) [\[566\]](#) [\[567\]](#) [\[568\]](#) [\[569\]](#) [\[570\]](#) [\[571\]](#) [\[572\]](#) [\[573\]](#) [\[574\]](#) [\[575\]](#) [\[576\]](#) [\[577\]](#) [\[578\]](#) [\[579\]](#) [\[580\]](#) [\[581\]](#) [\[582\]](#) [\[583\]](#) [\[584\]](#) [\[585\]](#) [\[586\]](#) [\[587\]](#) [\[588\]](#) [\[589\]](#) [\[590\]](#) [\[591\]](#) [\[592\]](#) [\[593\]](#) [\[594\]](#) [\[595\]](#) [\[596\]](#) [\[597\]](#) [\[598\]](#) [\[599\]](#) [\[600\]](#) [\[601\]](#) [\[602\]](#) [\[603\]](#) [\[604\]](#) [\[605\]](#) [\[606\]](#) [\[607\]](#) [\[608\]](#) [\[609\]](#) [\[610\]](#) [\[611\]](#) [\[612\]](#) [\[613\]](#) [\[614\]](#) [\[615\]](#) [\[616\]](#) [\[617\]](#) [\[618\]](#) [\[619\]](#) [\[620\]](#) [\[621\]](#) [\[622\]](#) [\[623\]](#) [\[624\]](#) [\[625\]](#) [\[626\]](#) [\[627\]](#) [\[628\]](#) [\[629\]](#) [\[630\]](#) [\[631\]](#) [\[632\]](#) [\[633\]](#) [\[634\]](#) [\[635\]](#) [\[636\]](#) [\[637\]](#) [\[638\]](#) [\[639\]](#) [\[640\]](#) [\[641\]](#) [\[642\]](#) [\[643\]](#) [\[644\]](#) [\[645\]](#) [\[646\]](#) [\[647\]](#) [\[648\]](#) [\[649\]](#) [\[650\]](#) [\[651\]](#) [\[652\]](#) [\[653\]](#) [\[654\]](#) [\[655\]](#) [\[656\]](#) [\[657\]](#) [\[658\]](#) [\[659\]](#) [\[660\]](#) [\[661\]](#) [\[662\]](#) [\[663\]](#) [\[664\]](#) [\[665\]](#) [\[666\]](#) [\[667\]](#) [\[668\]](#) [\[669\]](#) [\[670\]](#) [\[671\]](#) [\[672\]](#) [\[673\]](#) [\[674\]](#) [\[675\]](#) [\[676\]](#) [\[677\]](#) [\[678\]](#) [\[679\]](#) [\[680\]](#) [\[681\]](#) [\[682\]](#) [\[683\]](#) [\[684\]](#) [\[685\]](#) [\[686\]](#) [\[687\]](#) [\[688\]](#)

马里乌斯·庞特默西Marius Pontmercy  
“战争的性质只取决于它的目的。无所谓外战，也无所谓内战。战争只有非正义和正义之分……仅仅是在用以扼杀人权、进步、理智、文明、真理的战争才是耻辱，剑也才是凶器。内战或外战，都可以是不义的，都可以称为犯罪。”<sup>[A1]</sup>

内战？这意味着什么？难道还有什么外战吗？人与人之间的战争，不都是兄弟之间的战争吗？战争的性质只取决于它的目的。无所谓外战，也无所谓内战。战争只有非正义和正义之分……仅仅是在用以扼杀人权、进步、理智、文明、真理的战争才是耻辱，剑也才是凶器。内战或外战，都可以是不义的，都可以称为犯罪。<sup>[324]</sup>

1832年“<sup>[325]</sup>

19——1850—1864—1879—1884—1853—1856—1857—1858—1861—1868—1869—1870—1871—1872—1879<sup>[327]</sup> 18<sup>[328]</sup>



1900年，美国国会通过了《1863年法案》，  
 该法案规定，所有在1863年之前在美国出生的黑人，  
 其公民权应受到保护。<sup>[331]</sup> 1864年，  
 美国国会通过了《10月3日法案》，<sup>[332]</sup>

[illegible]

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840.

美国在1945年之前，一直是一个由13个州组成的国家。这些州在1776年宣布独立，成为“自由、平等、博爱”的国家。[335] 美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。

1776年，美国宣布独立，成为“自由、平等、博爱”的国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。

南卡罗来纳州，已经重新获得了和世界其他国家一样的地位，即作为独立的单独国家，享有完整的发动战争的权利，缔结和平，结成联盟，建立商业往来，并且可以做其他任何独立国家有权利做的事。[336]

美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。

1861年7月4日，美国宣布独立，成为“自由、平等、博爱”的国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。美国在1860年12月，通过南北战争，重新统一了国家。

“——” “——” [337]

“——” “——” 150 [338]

“” 1861 [339]

“” [340] [341]

——  
[342]  
**1861**  
**4**  
“ ”  
[343]

1863年2月，4月Prize Cases  
4月  
1863年3月·Robert  
Grier  
“”  
——  
“”  
“”  
[344]

\*\*\*

[illegible]

亨利·哈雷克Henry Halleck国际法  
1861年



”[...]“[...].....”  
[...]1783[...]  
[...]“[...]  
[...]”[...]“[...]”[346]

[...]  
[...]“[...]”[...]——[...]“[...]”  
[...]“[...]”——[...]  
[347] [...]“[...]”[...]“[...]”  
[...]“[...]”  
[...]Guelphs and Ghibellines[...]  
[...]“[...]”[...]“[...]”  
[...]——[...]“[...]”[...]“[...].....[...]  
[...]”[...]  
[...]“[...]”[348] [...]  
[...]1861[...1863[...]  
[...]

[...]  
[...]  
[...]  
[...]  
[...]1861[...·[...·[...]  
[Anna Ella Carroll][1815—1894][...]“[...]  
[...]  
[...]”[349]

1854年5月4日，在柏林，普鲁士国王威廉三世在柏林签署了《柏林宣言》，宣布普鲁士王国与奥地利帝国之间的战争结束。这一宣言标志着普鲁士在拿破仑战争中的胜利，也是普鲁士统一德国的关键一步。宣言中规定，普鲁士王国将放弃对波兰王国的领土要求，并将波兰王国归还给俄罗斯帝国。这一决定引起了普鲁士国内的不满，因为普鲁士在战争中付出了巨大的代价，却未能获得预期的领土补偿。然而，这一宣言也标志着普鲁士在外交上的胜利，因为它成功地避免了与奥地利帝国的进一步冲突，并为普鲁士在德国的领导地位奠定了基础。

1857年，普鲁士王国在柏林签署了《柏林宣言》<sup>[350]</sup>，宣布普鲁士王国与奥地利帝国之间的战争结束。这一宣言标志着普鲁士在拿破仑战争中的胜利，也是普鲁士统一德国的关键一步。宣言中规定，普鲁士王国将放弃对波兰王国的领土要求，并将波兰王国归还给俄罗斯帝国。这一决定引起了普鲁士国内的不满，因为普鲁士在战争中付出了巨大的代价，却未能获得预期的领土补偿。然而，这一宣言也标志着普鲁士在外交上的胜利，因为它成功地避免了与奥地利帝国的进一步冲突，并为普鲁士在德国的领导地位奠定了基础。

1850年，普鲁士王国在柏林签署了《柏林宣言》<sup>[353]</sup>，宣布普鲁士王国与奥地利帝国之间的战争结束。这一宣言标志着普鲁士在拿破仑战争中的胜利，也是普鲁士统一德国的关键一步。宣言中规定，普鲁士王国将放弃对波兰王国的领土要求，并将波兰王国归还给俄罗斯帝国。这一决定引起了普鲁士国内的不满，因为普鲁士在战争中付出了巨大的代价，却未能获得预期的领土补偿。然而，这一宣言也标志着普鲁士在外交上的胜利，因为它成功地避免了与奥地利帝国的进一步冲突，并为普鲁士在德国的领导地位奠定了基础。

“”177674 [355]

18611018622“”“”.....”19“”“”“”“” [356]

“”

但是关于内战的麻烦之处在于，一方面叛乱者、暴动者除了是战争中的一方以外，还是造反的罪犯，因此理应受到合法政府的惩罚；但另一方面，人数甚众的暴动（如果不是人数众多也不会形成内战了）让惩罚变得不可能，并导致其罪行被赦免，尽管其造反罪行相对而言更为严重。

“” [357] ——





“中國通商口岸”中國通商口岸“通商口岸”通商口岸  
“通商口岸”通商口岸1863通商口岸

1861年，[\[365\]](#) 1868年，[\[366\]](#)

中国国民党政府“在大陆期间”  
 期间”<sup>[367]</sup> 1866—1896 年期间  
 期间”<sup>[368]</sup> 1898 年期间  
 期间”<sup>[369]</sup> 2001  
 9 年期间 2007 年 1901—1902 年  
 “期间”<sup>[370]</sup> 1949 年  
 期间”<sup>[371]</sup>

000  
 000“00”“0000000000”  
 0“00”00000000000000000000·00000000·00000000000000000000  
[\[371\]](#) 0000000000“00”“00000000”00“00”00000000000000000000  
 00——“000000”“0000000000”0000000000000000120000000000“000  
 0”0000000000000000000018990000000000000000000000Unit  
 ed Daughters of the Confederacy000000000000000000000000

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。” [372]

1907年，美國最高法院在Plessy v. Ferguson案中，裁定“隔離但平等”（separate but equal）原則合憲。這一判決，是美國歷史上最重要的判決之一。它允許種族隔離，只要設施是“平等”的。這一判決，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [373]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [374]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [375]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [376]

\*\*\*

美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [372]

1907年，美國最高法院在Plessy v. Ferguson案中，裁定“隔離但平等”（separate but equal）原則合憲。這一判決，是美國歷史上最重要的判決之一。它允許種族隔離，只要設施是“平等”的。這一判決，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [373]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [374]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [375]

“美國憲法中關於奴隸制的規定，是美國歷史上最大的污點之一。我們必須承認，美國憲法在奴隸制問題上，是一個巨大的失敗。 [376]





[A1] ———Marius———

[309]Lincoln, “Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg”(Nov. 19, 1863), in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:23.

[310]Wills, *Lincoln at Gettysburg*; Boritt, *Gettysburg Gospel*; and Johnson, *Writing the Gettysburg Address*, none of which treats the phrase “great civil war”

[311]Cimbala and Miller, *Great Task Remaining Before Us*; Varon, *Appomattox*; Downs, *After Appomattox*.

[312]Mably, *Des droits et des devoirs du citoyen* (1758), 62 – 63 (“la guerre civile est quelque fois un grand bien”).

[313]“La guerra civil es un don de cielo,” quoted in Fuentes, “Guerra civil,” 609; Fuentes, “*Belle époque*,” 84 – 93.

[314]Chateaubriand, *Mémoires d’outre-tombe*, 1358; Caron, *Frères de sang*, 153 – 57.

[315]Compare Ranzato, “Evidence et invisibilité des guerres civiles”; Grangé, *De la guerre civile*; Grangé, *Oublier la guerre civile?*. Joas and Köbl, *War in Social Thought*, 2





[331]“Meeting of the Sub-committee [of the Société Publique for the Relief of Wounded Combatants], held on March 17, 1863,” in International Committee of the Red Cross, “The Foundation of the Red Cross”: 67.

[332]Boissier, *Histoire du Comité international de la Croix-Rouge*, 391 – 94; Siordet, “The Geneva Conventions and Civil War”; Sivakumaran, *The Law of Noninternational Armed Conflict*, 31 – 37. (□□□□□□□□)

[333]Mill, “A Few Words on Non-intervention,” in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, 21:120, 118, 121; Varouxakis, *Liberty Abroad*, 77 – 89.

[334]Mill, “The Contest in America” (1862), in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, 21:140, 142, 138; Varouxakis, “‘Negrophilist’ Crusader.”

[335]Pitts, “Intervention and Sovereign Equality.”

[336]“Declaration of the Immediate Causes Which Induce and Justify the Secession of South Carolina from the Federal Union” (Dec. 20, 1860), in *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Held in 1860, 1861 and 1862*, 461 – 66 (my emphasis).

[337]Lincoln, “Message to Congress in Special Session” (July 4, 1861), in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:426,

435, 436 (Lincoln's emphases).

[338] *Ibid.*, 4:433.

[339] Lincoln, "First Inaugural Address" (March 4, 1861), in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 4:265. "treasonable revolutionary" *Ibid.*, 4:265n16.

[340] Pavkovic, *Creating New States*, 221 – 40.

[341] Lincoln, "Address Delivered at the Dedication of the Cemetery at Gettysburg," in *Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 7:23.

[342] Wright, "American Civil War (1861—65)," 43.

[343] Neff, *Justice in Blue and Gray*, 32 – 34.

[344] The Prize Cases, 67 U.S. 635 (1863); McGinty, *Lincoln and the Court*, 118 – 43; Lee and Ramsey, "Story of the Prize Cases"; Neff, *Justice in Blue and Gray*, 20 – 29.

[345] The Prize Cases, 67 U.S. 635 (1863), citing Vattel, *Law of Nations* 3.18.293, ed. Kapossy and Whatmore, 645.

[346] Halleck, *International Law*, 73 – 75.

[347] "wars of Islamism" *Life of Napoleon*

[348] Halleck, *International Law*, 332 – 33.

[349]Carroll, *War Powers of the General Government*, 7–8, citing Vattel, *Law of Nations* 3.18.293.

[350]Dyer, “Francis Lieber and the American Civil War”; Mack and Lesesne, *Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind*.

[351]Baxter, “First Modern Codification of the Law of War”; Hartigan, *Military Rules, Regulations, and the Code of War*; Witt, *Lincoln’s Code*; Finkelman, “Francis Lieber and the Modern Law of War.”

[352]Lieber to George Stillman Hillard, May 11, 1861, Lieber MSS, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (hereafter HEH), LI 2308.

[353]Lieber, “[Notes on the] English and French [*sic*] Revolutions” (ca. 1850), Lieber MSS, HEH LI 365.

[354]Lieber, “Some Questions Answered—Secession—the Strength of Armies and Navys, &ca.” (ca. 1851), Lieber MSS, HEH LI 369.

[355]Lieber, “[Remarks Regarding the *Right of Secession*” (ca. 1851), Lieber MSS, HEH LI 368.

[356]Lieber, “Twenty-Seven Definitions and Elementary Positions Concerning the Laws and Usages of War” (1861) and “Laws and Usages of War” (Oct. 1861—Feb. 1862), Lieber

MSS, Eisenhower Library, Johns Hopkins University, box 2, items 15, 16 – 18.

[357] Lieber, “Laws and Usages of War,” Lieber MSS, John Hopkins University, box 2, item 17. contentio justa□□ Alberico Gentili (1552—1608), □□□ Kennedy, *Influence of Christianity on International Law*, 91□

[358] Lieber, “Civil War,” Lieber MSS, John Hopkins University, box 2, item 18; Lieber, *Guerrilla Parties*, 21; Witt, *Lincoln’s Code*, 193 – 96.

[359] Halleck to Lieber, Aug. 6, 1862; Lieber to Halleck, Aug. 9, 1862, Lieber MSS, HEH, LI 1646, 1758.

[360] Lieber to Bates, Nov. 9, 1862, Lieber MSS, HEH, LI 852.

[361] Halleck, annotation to Lieber, *Code for the Government of Armies in the Field*, 25 – [26], HEH, 243077.

[362] Lieber to Halleck, March 4, 1863, Lieber MSS, HEH 1778; compare Lieber, [U.S. Field Order 100.] *Section X*.

[363] Lieber, *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*, 34.

[364] Neff, *War and the Law of Nations*, 256 – 57.

[365] U.S. Constitution, article I, secs. 8 – 9; Fourteenth Amendment (1868), sec. 3.

[366] U.S. Naval War Records Office, *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the war of the Rebellion*

[367] Witt, *Lincoln's Code*, 340 – 45.

[368] U.S. Department of War, *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*.

[369] Ramsey, *Masterpiece of Counterguerrilla Warfare*, 119 – 41.

[370] Davis, *Military Laws of the United States*, 798; U.S. Department of War, *Rules of Land Warfare*; U.S. Department of War, *Basic Field Manual*; U.S. Department of the Army, *Law of Land Warfare*, 9 Kretchik, *U.S. Army Doctrine*

[371] Compare Fleche, *Revolution of 1861*.

[372] Coulter, “Name for the American War of 1861—1865,” 123, quoting Mildred Rutherford; Hoar, *South's Last Boys in Gray*, 524 – 25 (estimating 120 names for the war); Music, “War by Any Other Name”; Coski, “War Between the Names”; Manning and Rothman, “Name of War.”



[373] Thomas M. Patterson, *Congressional Record* (Jan. 11, 1907), 944, in Record Group 94 (Office of the Adjutant General), Administrative Precedent File ("Frech File"), box 16, bundle 58, "Civil War," National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[374] *Congressional Record* (Jan. 11, 1907), 944 – 49; clipping from unnamed Washington, D.C., newspaper, Jan. 12, 1907, "Frech File," National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[375] Coulter, "Name for the American War of 1861—1865," 128 – 29; United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy*, 298.

[376] Blight, *Race and Reunion*, 15, 300 – 337.

[377] Melville, "The Surrender at Appomattox (April, 1865)," in *Published Poems*, 100; Thomas, "'My Brother Got Killed in the War,'" 301 – 3.

[378] Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.128, in Lucan, *Civil War*, trans. Braund, 6; Jacob, *Testament to Union*, 169; Malamud, "Auctoritas of Antiquity," 310 – 11.

[379] Engels to Marx, May 23, 1862, in Marx and Engels, *Collected Works*, trans. Dixon et al., 41:367.



712 所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [383]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [383]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [384]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [385]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [386]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [387]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [388]

所有战争都是内战，是人类互相残杀，互相伤害；一场战争耗时越久，就越有杀伤力；因此，一个民族反对另一个民族的斗争，要比一些家庭反抗共和国要糟糕得多。所以我们一定不要参与到战争中去，除非是最不得已的极端情况，那么我们只有起来击退敌人。 [389]

1853—1856 [389] 20 1802 [390]

20 international conflict of a non-international character 20 90 20 90 — — “ ”

“ ” 21 “ ” 20

\*\*\*

1949 10 1949 8 1907 1929 “ ” 1864 “ ” “ ”

1949年“[noninternational armed conflict](#)”[\[391\]](#)

1949年“[noninternational armed conflict](#)”[\[392\]](#)

1948年“[noninternational armed conflict](#)”[\[393\]](#)

1949年“[noninternational armed conflict](#)”[\[394\]](#)

1949年“[noninternational armed conflict](#)”[\[395\]](#)



国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[399]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[400]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[401]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[402]</sup>

为什么要在武力冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[402]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[403]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[404]</sup>

国际人道法在武装冲突中保护平民，禁止强奸、折磨或者恶意破坏医院、教堂、博物馆以及私人财产，以及严禁在两国交火时使用会造成不必要伤害的武器？为什么当暴力“仅仅”发生在一国主权领土边界之内时，又不实施这些禁令，不提供同样的保护呢？<sup>[405]</sup>

“ ”  
“ ”  
“ ” “ ”  
” [406]  
“ ”

2011—2012 2011  
2012 ·  
2011 12 Mark Toner  
“ ” “ ”  
‘ ’  
[407]  
[408]

17 000 2012  
7 “ ” [409]  
[410] 21  
——  
——  
20 60

\*\*\*

“ ”  
—— “ ” [411]  
1963













“[\[426\]](#) ”  
[426]

1 000 50  
“ ” 1 00  
0 “ ”  
[427]

[427] “ ”  
“ ”  
[428]  
“ ”  
19 — —  
[429]  
“ ” “ ”

1847 S  
wiss Sonderbund War  
— 25 93 [430]  
1922—1923 540  
800 [431]  
1969—2001 3 500 1972 479  
1 000 1974 4 [432]



”[\[440\]](#) 1945年，[\[440\]](#) 10月，[\[440\]](#)

6月，[\[441\]](#) 1945年，[\[441\]](#) 2006年12月，[\[A2\]](#) Nouri al-Maliki，[\[442\]](#)

2006年3月，[\[443\]](#) Amir Taheri，[\[443\]](#) 1992—2002年，[\[443\]](#)

Sir John Keegan，[\[443\]](#) Bartle Bull





内战：一场发生在同一个国家的不同部分之间的战争；有5个标准让国际社会来认可这一状态——交战方必须控制着领土，有可以运转的政府，得到一定的国际认可，有可识别的常规武装力量，并且处于重大的军事行动中。<sup>[446]</sup>

国际人道法委员会在1949年日内瓦公约的评注中指出，内战的概念是“国家内部”的武装冲突，其特点是交战方必须控制着领土，有可以运转的政府，得到一定的国际认可，有可识别的常规武装力量，并且处于重大的军事行动中。<sup>[447]</sup>

国际人道法委员会在1949年日内瓦公约的评注中指出，内战的概念是“国家内部”的武装冲突，其特点是交战方必须控制着领土，有可以运转的政府，得到一定的国际认可，有可识别的常规武装力量，并且处于重大的军事行动中。<sup>[447]</sup>

国际人道法委员会在1949年日内瓦公约的评注中指出，内战的概念是“国家内部”的武装冲突，其特点是交战方必须控制着领土，有可以运转的政府，得到一定的国际认可，有可识别的常规武装力量，并且处于重大的军事行动中。<sup>[447]</sup>

\*\*\*

2017年，国际人道法委员会在日内瓦公约的评注中指出，内战的概念是“国家内部”的武装冲突，其特点是交战方必须控制着领土，有可以运转的政府，得到一定的国际认可，有可识别的常规武装力量，并且处于重大的军事行动中。<sup>[447]</sup>



1962年6月，*Port Huron Statement*“  
“  
” [458] 20  
“  
” [459]

“  
“9·11”  
“  
” [46  
0] Michael Hardt  
Antonio  
Negri 2004  
” [461]  
“  
”  
“  
”  
2005  
” [462]

“  
”  
“  
”  
“  
”  
“  
”  
20  
“  
”  
“  
”  
“  
”



[383] Fénelon, *Fables and Dialogues of the Dead*, 183; Bell, *First Total War*, 59.

[384] Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.1 – 2: “*bella per Emathios plus quam civilian campos, /...canimus*” (my emphases).

[385] Armitage, “Cosmopolitanism and Civil War.”

[386] Kant, “Toward Perpetual Peace,” in *Practical Philosophy*, trans. Gregor, 330.

[387] Rousseau, *Project for Perpetual Peace*, 9 (“presque la cruauté des guerres civiles”).

[388] Bourrienne, *Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne, ministre d'état*, 5:207: “La Turquie exceptée, l'Europe n'est qu'une province du monde; quand nous battons, nous ne faisons que de la guerre civile.”

[389] Martin, *La Russie et l'Europe*, 106: “Toutes les guerres entre Européens sont guerres civiles.”

[390] G. K. Chesterton, in Hymans, Fort, and Rastoul, *Pax mundi*; Coudenhove-Kalergi, *Europe Must Unite*, title page

[391] Diplomatic Conference for the Establishment of International Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War, *Final Record of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 194*

9, 2B:325, 11; Sivakumaran, *Law of Non-international Armed Conflict*, 30 – 31, 40.

[392] International Committee of the Red Cross, *Seventeenth International Red Cross Conference, Stockholm, August 1948: Report*, 71; Pictet, *Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field*, 39 – 48. On the drafting of Common Article 3, see Moir, *Law of Internal Armed Conflict*, 23 – 29.

[393] 20 Rougier, *Les guerres civiles et le droit des gens*; Siotis, *Le droit de la guerre et les conflits armés d'un caractère non-international*; Castrén, *Civil War*; La Haye, *War Crimes in Internal Armed Conflicts*; Solis, *Law of Armed Conflict*; Dinstein, *Non-international Armed Conflicts in International Law*; Moir, “Concept of Non-international Armed Conflict”

[394] Geneva Convention, Common Article 3, in Pictet, *Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field*, 37 – 38.

[395] Sivakumaran, *Law of Non-international Armed Conflict*, 163; Diplomatic Conference for the Establishment of International Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War, *Final Record of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 194*

9, 1:351, quoted in *ibid.*, 163. Klose, “Colonial Testing Ground,” 108 – 11; Klose, *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence*, trans. Geyer, 122 – 24

[396] Institut de Droit International, “Principle of Non-intervention in Civil Wars.”

[397] Moir, *Law of Internal Armed Conflict*, 89 – 132; Sivakumaran, *Law of Noninternational Armed Conflict*, 49 – 92, 182 – 92.

[398] Cullen, *Concept of Non-international Armed Conflict in International Humanitarian Law*; Vit  , “Typology of Armed Conflicts in International Humanitarian Law,” 75 – 83; David, “Internal (Non-international) Armed Conflict.”

[399] Wilmschurst, *International Law and the Classification of Conflict*

[400] Institut de Droit International, “Application of International Humanitarian Law and Fundamental Human Rights, in Armed Conflicts in Which Non-state Entities Are Parties.”

[401] Kolb, “Le droit international public et le concept de guerre civile depuis 1945”; Mattler, “Distinction Between Civil Wars and International Wars and Its Legal Implications.”

[402] International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, *Prosecutor v. Tadi  *, § 97.



[403]Kre and Mégret, “The Regulation of Noninternational Armed Conflicts”

[404]U.K. Ministry of Defence, *Manual of the Law of Armed Conflict*, 381 – 408.

[405]Sewall, introduction to *U.S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual*, 352.

[406]International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, *Prosecutor v. Tadić*, §§ 126, 119.

[407]U.S. Department of State, Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs, “Daily Press Briefing — December 2, 2011”; Pressman, “Why Deny Syria Is in a Civil War?”

[408]Chenoweth, “Syrian Conflict Is Already a Civil War”; Murphy, “Why It’s Time to Call Syria a Civil War.”

[409]“Syria Crisis: Death Toll Tops 17,000, Says Opposition Group,” *Huffington Post*, July 9, 2012; “Syria in Civil War, Red Cross Says,” *BBC News, Middle East*, July 15, 2012.

[410]International Committee of the Red Cross, “Internal Conflicts or Other Situations of Violence.”

[411]Eckstein, “Introduction: Toward the Theoretical Study of Internal War,” in *Internal War*, 1. On Eckstein, see Almo

nd, “Harry Eckstein as Political Theorist.”

[412]Eckstein, “On the Etiology of Internal Wars.” For recent overviews of the Cold War and the social sciences, see Engerman, “Social Science in the Cold War”; Gilman, “Cold War as Intellectual Force Field.”

[413]Orlansky, *State of Research on Internal War*, 3; compare Eckstein, *Internal War*, 32: “The crucial issues...are pre-theoretical issues.”

[414]U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Nature of Revolution*, 155 – 56; Brinton, *Anatomy of Revolution*; Mc Alister, *Viet Nam*.

[415]RawlsForrester, “Citizenship, War, and the Origins of International Ethics in American Political Philosophy, 1960—1975”

[416]Rawls, “Moral Problems.”

[417]Compare, for example, Speier, *Revolutionary War*.

[418]John Rawls, “Topic III: *Just War: Jus ad bellum*” (1969), Harvard University Archives, Acs. 14990, box 12, file 4; Mill, “A Few Words on Non-intervention” (1859), in *Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, 21:111 – 23.

[419]Foucault, “La société punitive,” Lecture 1 (Jan. 3, 1973), 16 – 17; Foucault, *La société punitive*, 14 – 15; Foucault, *Punitive Society*, trans. Burchell, 13.

[420]hoffman, “Foucault’s Politics and Bellicosity as a Matrix for Power Relations.”

[421]Foisneau, “Farewell to Leviathan.”

[422]Foucault, “La société punitive,” Lecture 2 (Jan. 10, 1973), 22 – 23, 28–29;Foucault, *La société punitive*, 26 – 31 (“la guerre civile se déroule sur le théâtre du pouvoir”), 34 (“la politique est la continuation de la guerre civile”);Foucault, *Punitive Society*, trans. Burchell, 24 – 32.

[423]Wright, *Study of War*; Richardson, *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*; Singer and Small, *Wages of War, 1816—1965*.

[424]Small and Singer, *Resort to Arms*, 203 – 4.

[425]Ibid., 210 – 20; Henderson and Singer, “Civil War in the Post-colonial World,1946—92,” 284 – 85.

[426]Sambanis, “What Is Civil War? ”, 816.

[427]Duvall, “Appraisal of the Methodological and Statistical Procedures of the Correlates of War Project”; Cramer, *Civil War Is Not a Stupid Thing*, 57 – 86; Vasquez, *War Puzzle Revisited*, 27 – 29

[428]metropole–periphery–Sarkees and Wayman, *Resort to War*, 43, 47

[429]Stathis Kalyvas “Armed combat within the boundaries of *a recognized sovereign entity* between parties subject to a common authority at the outset of the hostilities.” Kalyvas, *Logic of Violence in Civil War*, 17 (my emphasis).

[430]Remak, *Very Civil War*, 157.

[431]hopkinson, *Green Against Green*, 272 – 73.

[432]Sutton, *Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland, 1969–1993*; Conflict Archive on the Internet, “Violence: Deaths During the Conflict.”

[433]Sambanis, “It’s Official”; see also Toft, “Is It a Civil War, or Isn’t It?”

[434]Annan, quoted in Cordesmann, *Iraq’s Insurgency and the Road to Civil Conflict*, 2:393.

[435]Lando, “By the Numbers, It’s Civil War.”

[436]Wong, “Matter of Definition.”

[437]Erdoğan, quoted in Cordesmann, *Iraq’s Insurgency and the Road to Civil Conflict*, 2:393.

[438]Keeter, “Civil War.”

[439] Stansfield, "Accepting Realities in Iraq."

[440] Fearon, "Testimony to U.S. House of Representative  
s ...on 'Iraq: Democracy or Civil War?' "

[441] Fearon, "Iraq's Civil War."

[442] Zavis, "Maliki Challenges 'Civil War' Label."

[443] Taheri, "There Is No Civil War in Iraq."

[444] Keegan and Bull, "What Is a Civil War?"

[445] Patten, "Is Iraq in a Civil War?": 32, 27.

[446] *U.S. Army Field Manual 100 - 20: Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict*, quoted in Patten, "Is Iraq in a Civil War?": 28

[447] Patten, "Is Iraq in a Civil War?": 29 (my emphasis).

[448] "Piú che ad una guerra fra nazioni, noi assistiamo a d una mondiale guerra civile": Salvemini, "Non abbiamo niente da dire" (Sept. 4, 1914), in *Come siamo andati in Libia e altri scritti dal 1900 al 1915*, 366; "... dieser Großkrieg ist ein europäischer Bürgerkrieg, ein Krieg gegen der inneren, unsichtbaren Feind des europäischen Geistes": Marc, "Das geheime Europa" (Nov. 1914), in Marc, *Schriften*, 165; Losurdo, *War and Revolution*, trans. Elliott, 82; Traverso, *A ferro e fuoco*, 29.



[457] Schmitt, *Donoso Cortés in gesamteuropäischer Interpretation*, 7 (“dereuropäische Bürgerkrieg von 1848...und der globale Weltbürgerkrieg der Gegenwart”), 18 – 19, 21, 85 – 86, 113 – 14; Schmitt, *La guerre civile mondiale*; Kesting, *Geschichtsphilosophie und Weltbürgerkrieg*; Schnur, *Revolution und Weltbürgerkrieg*; Portinaro, “L’epoca della guerra civile mondiale?”; Müller, *Dangerous Mind*, 104 – 15; Jouin, *Le retour de la guerre juste*, 269 – 90.

[458] Students for a Democratic Society, *Port Huron Statement*, 27.

[459] Arendt, *On Revolution*, 17; Bates, “On Revolutions in the Nuclear Age.”

[460] Galli, *Political Spaces and Global War* (2001—2), trans. Fay, 171 – 72; Härting, *Global Civil War and Postcolonial Studies*; Odysseos, “Violence After the State?”; Odysseos, “Liberalism’s War, Liberalism’s Order.”

[461] Hardt and Negri, *Multitude*, 341.

[462] Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Attell, 2 – 3; see also Agamben, *Stasis*, trans. Heron, 24 (“The form that civil war has acquired today in world history is ‘terrorism’... Terrorism is the ‘global civil war’ which time and again invests this or that zone of planetary space.”).

[\[463\]](#)On the congruences, empirical and definitional, between “civil war” and “terrorism,” see Findley and Young, “Terrorism and Civil War.”

[\[464\]](#)Jung, “Introduction: Towards Global Civil War?”





“————” [466] 。

“[\[467\]](#)”

“[\[468\]](#)”

[\[469\]](#)

1990年代、日本は「経済大国」を目指して、高度成長を遂げた。この時期、日本企業は海外市場に積極的に進出し、競争力を高めることに成功した。

2000年代、日本は「経済大国」から「経済大国」へと変化した。この時期、日本企業は海外市場に積極的に進出し、競争力を高めることに成功した。

2003年、日本は「経済大国」から「経済大国」へと変化した。この時期、日本企業は海外市場に積極的に進出し、競争力を高めることに成功した。

[470]

[illegible][illegible]





[467]Kalyvas, “Civil Wars,” 416, where he notes it is “a phenomenon prone to serious semantic confusion, even contestation.” See also Waldmann, “Guerra civil”;Angstrom, “Towards a Typology of Internal Armed Conflict”; Sambanis, “What Is Civil War?”; Mundy, “Deconstructing Civil Wars”; González Calleja,Arbusti, and Pinto, “Guerre civili,” 34 – 42; González Calleja, *Las guerras civiles*, 34 – 78; Jackson, “Critical Perspectives,” 81 – 83.

[468]De Quincey, “[Fragments Relating to ‘Casuistry’]” (ca. 1839—43), in *Works of Thomas De Quincey*, 11:602.

[469]Pavone, *Civil War*, 269 – 70.

[470]Mamdani, “Politics of Naming”; Mamdani, *Saviors and Survivors*, 3 – 6.

[471]Freedman, “What Makes a Civil War?”

[472]Talmon, “Recognition of the Libyan National Transitional Council.”





siah Osborn · Jennifer Pitts · Adam Smith ·  
Richard English · Peter Gray · Keith Jeffery · David Livingstone ·  
Chris Marsh · David Hayton

5 2015 4 Center for American Political Studies · Gabriella Blum · Darrin Mc Mahon · Sam Moyn · Eric Nelson · John Stauffer · Richard Thomas · Peter Gordon · James Hankins · Jim Kloppenberg · Joshua Ehrlich · Dan Carpenter · Laura Donaldson · Michèle Lowrie · John Mc Cormick 2016 6 Universität Bielefeld Weatherhead Center for International Affairs

Chris Bayly · Alastair Bellany · Kenzie Bok · Eva Botella Ordinas — Richard Bourke · Nigel Bowles · Charles Crouch · Don Doyle · Dan Edelstein · Yasuo Endo · L



aura Frader · Alison Games ·  
Rebecca Goetz · · · ·  
Eva Marlene Hausteiner · Stefan Schlelein ·  
Will Hay · Russ Heller ·  
 · Jakob Huber · Nimrod Kovner ·  
 · Paul Kennedy · Christina Ko  
ulouri · Alison La Croix ·  
 · Jonathan Lear · Sandy Levinson ·  
Matthijs Lok ·  
Dirk Moses · Panagiotis Roi  
los · Helena Rosenblatt ·  
 · — · Joan-Pau Rubiés and Neil  
Safier · Katherine Sawyer ·  
Brian Schoen · · Javier F  
ernández Sebastián · Alex Semyono  
v · Eric Slauter · Glenda  
Sluga · · Courtney Weiss Smith ·  
Peter Stacey · · Simon Stern  
and Anna Su · Miles Taylor ·  
Spyridon Tegos · Bruno Tribout ·  
Luciana Villas Bôas ·  
Chris Waters · Thomas Welskopp · Richard Whatmore ·

□□□□, □□□·□□□□ Caroline Winterer □□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□ Ângela Xavier □□□□□□□□

□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□ Cliff Ando □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Charles Bartlett □□□□□□·□□□□ Gary Bass □□□□□□·□□□□ David Bell □□□□□□·□□□□ Peter Bol □□□□□□·□□□□ Hannah Callaway □□□□□□□□·□□□□ Elizabeth Cross □□□□□□·□□□□ Emma Dench □□□□□□·□□□□ Ian Donaldson □□□□□□·□□□□ Dan Edelstein □□□□□□·□□□□ John Elliott □□□□□□·□□□□ Philip Filer □□□□□□·□□□□□□·□□□□□□ Juan Francisco Fuentes □□□□□□·□□□□ Michael Geyer □□□□□□·□□□□ Ninon Grangé □□□□□□·□□□□ Jo Guldi □□□□□□·□□□□ Bernard Harcourt □□□□□□·□□□□ Jo Innes □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Maya Jasanoff □□□□□□·□□□□□□ João Feres Júnior □□□□□□·□□□□ Daniel Jütte □□□□□□·□□□□ Shruti Kapila □□□□□□·□□□□ Ville Kari □□□□□□·□□□□ Robin Kiera □□□□□□·□□□□ Krishan Kumar □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Carsten Hjort Lange □□□□□□□□·□□□□□□ Nicholas Mc Dowell □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Adam Mestyan □□□□□□·□□□□ Sankar Muthu □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Louiza Odysseos □□□□□□·□□□□ Anthony Pagden □□□□□□·□□□□ Erika Pani □□□□□□·□□□□ John Pocock □□□□□□□□·□□□□ Ingrid Purnell □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Sophie Rosenfeld □□□□——□□·□□□□□□ Joan-Pau Rubiés □□□□□□·□□□□ Nick Sacco □□□□□□·□□□□ Elaine Scarry □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Rob Schneider □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Mira Siegelberg □□□□□□·□□□□ Zoltan Simon □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Emile Simpson □□□□□□·□□□□ Giulia Sissa □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Lauri Täähtinen □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Georgios Varouxakis □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Ted Widmer □□□□□□·□□□□ John Witt □□□□□□·□□□□□□ Susan Woodward □□□□□□·□□□□ Philip Wynn □□□□□□·□□□□□□ John Zammito □□□□□□□□·□□□□□□ Andrew Zimmerman □□□□□□□□□□□□·□□□□□□ Jonathan Bate □□□□□□□□

Joshua Eaton  
Janet Hatch  
Ann Kaufman  
Elena Palladino  
Kimberly O'Hagan

Andrew Wylie  
James Pullen  
Sarah Chalfant  
George Andreou  
Heather Mc Callum  
Lilia Moritz Schwarcz

Alison Bashford  
Joyce Chaplin  
Graham Earles  
Andrew Fitzmaurice  
Stella Ghervas  
Eileen Gillooly  
Peter Gordon  
Jim Kloppenberg  
Eric Nelson  
Quentin Skinner

---

[473] <http://www.iraqbodycount.org/database/>; United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq, "Human Rights Report, 1 September–31 October 2006," 4.

[474] Ted Widmer, *Ark of the Liberties: America and the World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2008).

□□□□

□□□□

Acheson, Dean. *Present at the Creation: My Years in the State Department*. New York: Norton, 1969.

Adams, John. *Discourses on Davila. A Series of Papers, on Political History*. Boston: Russell and Cutler, 1805.

Appian. *An Auncient Historie and Exquisite Chronicle of the Romane Warres, both Civile and Foren*. London: Ralph Newbery and Henry Bynneman, 1578.

—. *Shakespeare's Appian: A Selection from the Tudor Translation of Appian's Civil Wars*, ed. Ernest Schanzer. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1956.

—. *The Civil Wars*, trans. John Carter. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1996.

Arendt, Hannah. *On Revolution*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990.

ARTFL (Project for American and French Research on the Treasury of the French Language), "Dictionnaires d'autrefois": <http://artfl-project.uchicago.edu/content/dictionnaires-da-autrefois>.

Astell, Mary. "An Impartial Enquiry into the Causes of the Rebellion and Civil War in this Kingdom," 135—97. In Mary Astell, *Political Writings*, ed. Patricia Springborg. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Augustine. *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. R. W. Dyson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Biondi, Giovanni Francesco. "Civill warrs of England: in the life of Henry the Sixth," trans. Henry, Earl of Monmouth. f MS Eng 1055, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

—. *An History of the Civill Warres of England, Betweene the Two Houses of Lancaster and Yorke*, trans. Henry, Earl of Monmouth. London: John Benson, 1641.

Bonaparte, Napoleon. *Précis des guerres de Jules César*. Bécherel: Éditions les Perséides, 2009.

Bourrienne, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de. *Mémoires de M. de Bourrienne, ministre d'état; sur Napoléon, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration*, 10 vols. Paris: L'Advocat, 1829—30.

Burke, Edmund. *A Letter from the Right Hon. Edmund Burke ... to Sir Hercules Langrishe ... on the Subject of Roman Catholics of Ireland*, 2nd edn. London: J. Debrett, 1792.

—. *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. J. G. A. Pocock. Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1987.

—. *The Writings and Speeches of Edmund Burke*, IX: *The Revolutionary War, 1794–1797. Ireland*, ed. R. B. McDowell. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

—. *Further Reflections on the Revolution in France*, ed. Daniel E. Ritchie. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 1992.

Carroll, Anna Ella. *The War Powers of the General Government*. Washington, D.C.: Henry Polkinhorn, 1861.

Chateaubriand, François-René. *Mémoires d'outre-tombe*, ed. Pierre Clarac. Paris: Le Livre de poche, 1973.

Cicero. *On Duties*, ed. M. T. Griffin and E. M. Atkins. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

—. *Political Speeches*, trans. D. H. Berry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

*Civil War; a Poem. Written in the Year 1775*. n. p., n. d. (1776?).

Clarendon, Henry Hyde, Earl of. *The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England, Begun in the Year 1641*, 2 vols. Oxford: At the Theatre, 1702–04.

Clausewitz, Carl von. *On War*, ed. and trans. Michael Howard and Peter Paret. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984.

—. *Clausewitz on Small War*, ed. and trans. Christopher Dawse and James W. Davis. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

—. *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1625—1660*, ed. Samuel Rawson Gardiner, 3rd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903.

Cooper, James Fenimore. *The Spy: A Tale of the Neutral Ground*, ed. James P. Elliott, Lance Schachterle, and Jeffrey Walker. New York: AMS Press, 2002.

Corbet, John. *An Historicall Relation of the Military Government of Gloucester*. London: Robert Bostock, 1645.

Coudenhove-Kalergi, Richard Nikolaus. *Europe Must Unite*. Glarus: Paneuropa Editions, 1939.

Davila, Arrigo Caterino. *The Historie of the Civill Warres of France*, trans. Charles Cotterell and William Aylesbury. London: W. Lee, D. Pakeman, and G. Bedell, 1647—48.

—. *The History of the Civil Wars of France*, trans. Charles Cotterell and William Aylesbury. London: Henry Herringman, 1678.

Davis, George B., ed. *The Military Laws of the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1897.

—. *A Decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind: Congressional State Papers, 1774—1776*, ed. James H. Hutson. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1976.

De Quincey, Thomas. *The Works of Thomas De Quincey*, gen. ed. Grevel Lindop, 21 vols. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2000—03.

Diplomatic Conference for the Establishment of International Conventions for the Protection of Victims of War. *Final Record of the Diplomatic Conference of Geneva of 1949*, 3 vols. Berne: Federal Political Department, [1949].

Doughty, Robert. *The Notebook of Robert Doughty, 1662—1665*, ed. James M. Rosenheim. Norwich: Norfolk Record Society, 1989.

Drayton, William Henry. *A Charge, on the Rise of the American Empire*. Charleston, SC: David Bruce, 1776.

Dugdale, William. *A Short View of the Late Troubles in England; Briefly Setting Forth their Rise, Growth, and Tragical Conclusion. As also, Some Parallel thereof with the Barons Wars... But Chiefly with that in France, Called the Holy League*. Oxford: Moses Pitt, 1681.

Eutropius. *Eutropii Historiæ Romanæ Breviarum*. 6th edn. Edinburgh: J. Paton, 1725.

Fénélon, François de Salignac de la Mothe. *Fables and Dialogues of the Dead. Written in French by the Late Archbishop of Cambray*, Eng. trans. London: W. Chetwood and S. Sampson, 1722.

Filmer, Sir Robert. *Patriarcha: Or, The Natural Power of Kings*. London: Walter Davis, 1680.

Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, trans. Edward Seymour Foster. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929.



Foucault, Michel. "La Société punitive" (January 3–March 28, 1973). Archives du Bibliothèque générale du Collège de France.

—. *Dits et Écrits, 1954–1988*, ed. Daniel Defert and François Ewald, 4 vols. Paris: Gallimard, 1994.

—. *La Société punitive. Cours au Collège de France 1972–1973*, ed. François Ewald, Alessandro Fontana, and Bernard Harcourt. Paris: EHESS, Gallimard, Seuil, 2013.

—. *The Punitive Society: Lectures at the Collège de France 1972–1973*, trans. Graham Burchell. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, gen. eds. Leonard W. Labaree, et al., 41 vols. to date. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959–<2011>.

Friedrich, Carl Joachim. *Foreign Policy in the Making: The Search for a New Balance of Power*. New York: W. W. Norton, 1938.

Garcilaso de la Vega. *Historia general del Peru trata el descubrimiento del; y como lo ganaron los Españoles: Las guerras civiles que hubo entre Piçarros, y Almagros*.

Cordova: Andreas Barrera, 1617.

Gastineau, Benjamin. *Histoire de la souscription populaire a la médaille Lincoln*. Paris: A. Lacroix, Verboeckoven & Cie., [1865].

Gibbon, Edward. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. London: Andrew Strahan and Thomas Cade II, 1782—88.

Grotius, Hugo. *De Rebus Belgicis, or, The Annals and History of the Low-Countrywarrs*. London: Henry Twyford and Robert Paulet, 1665.

—. *The Rights of War and Peace*, ed. Richard Tuck, 3 vols. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2005.

—. *Commentary on the Law of Prize and Booty*, ed. Martine Julia van Ittersum. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006.

Guarini, Baptista. *Il Pastor Fido, The Faithfull Shepheard with an Addition of Divers other Poems Concluding with a Short Discourse of the Long Civill Warres of Rome*, trans. Richard Fanshawe. London: Humphrey Moseley, 1648.

Guizot, François. *Histoire de la révolution d'Angleterre, depuis l'avènement de Charles Ier jusqu'à la restauration*, 2 vols. Paris: A. Leroux and C. Chantpie, 1826.

Halleck, H. W. *International Law; or, Rules Regulating the Intercourse of States in Peace and War*. San Francisco: H. H. Bancroft, 1861.

Harington, Sir John. *The Epigrams of Sir John Harington*, ed. Gerard Kilroy. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

Hartley, David. *Substance of a Speech in Parliament, upon the State of the Nation and the Present Civil War with Am*

*erica*. London: John Almon, 1776.

Heath, James. *A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War in the Three Kingdomes of England, Scotland and Ireland*. London: Thomas Basset, 1676.

Hobbes, Thomas. *Behemoth, The History of the Causes of the Civil-Wars of England*. London: William Crooke, 1682.

—. *Behemoth, or, The Long Parliament*, ed. Paul Seaward. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2010.

—. *The Correspondence*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

—. *The Elements of Law, Natural and Politic: Part I, Human Nature, Part II, De Corpore Politico; with Three Lives*, ed. J. C. A. Gaskin. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

—. *Writings on Common Law and Hereditary Right*, eds. Alan Cromartie and Quentin Skinner. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.

—. *Leviathan*, ed. Noel Malcolm, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2012. Horace. *The Complete Odes and Epodes*, trans. David West. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Howell, James. *Twelve Several Treatises, of the Late Revolutions in these Three Kingdomes*. London: J. Grismond, 1661.

Hugo, Victor. *Les misérables ... A Novel*, trans. Charles Edward Wilbour, 5 vols. New York: Carleton, 1862.

—. *Les misérables. (The Wretched.) A Novel*, rev. trans. Richmond, VA: West & Johnston, 1863—64.

Hymans, Paul, Fort, Paul, and Rastoul, Amand, eds. *Pax Mundi: Livre d'or de la Paix*. Geneva: Société Paxunis, 1932.

Institut de Droit International. "The Principle of Non-Inter-vention in Civil Wars." *Annuaire de l'Institut de droit international* 56 (1975): 544-49.

—. "The Application of International Humanitarian Law and Fundamental Human Rights, in Armed Conflicts in which Non-State Entities are Parties." *Annuaire de l'Institut de droit international* 68 (1999): 386-99.

International Committee of the Red Cross. *Seventeenth International Red Cross Conference, Stockholm August 1948: Report*. Stockholm: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1948.

International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia, *Prosecutor v. Tadić*, IT- 941-AR72, Decision on Defence Motion for Interlocutory Appeal on Jurisdiction (Appeals Chamber), October 2, 1995.

[Jackson, Samuel] *Emma Corbett: or, The Miseries of Civil War. Founded on Some Recent Circumstances which Happened in America*, 3 vols. Bath: Pratt and Clinch, 1780.

Jomini, Antoine Henri. *Précis de l'art de la guerre, ou Nouveau tableau analytique des principales combinaisons de l*

*a stratégie, de la grande tactique et de la politique militaire*, 2 vols. Paris: Anselin, 1838.

—. *The Life of Napoleon*, trans. Henry Wager Halleck, 4 vols. New York: D. Van Norstrand, 1864.

Jouffroy, Théodore Simon. *Mélanges philosophiques par Théodore Jouffroy*. Paris:Paulin, 1833.

—. *Journal of the Convention of the People of South Carolina, Held in 1860, 1861 and 1862*. Columbia, SC: R. W. Gibbes, 1862.

Kant, Immanuel. *Practical Philosophy*, ed. and trans. Mary J. Gregor. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Kennedy, C. M. *The Influence of Christianity on International Law*. Cambridge:Macmillan, 1856.

Keynes, John Maynard. *The Economics Consequences of the Peace*. Harmondsworth:Penguin Books, 1988.

[Le Blond, Guillaume.] "Guerre," 985– 98. In Denis Diderot and Jean le Rond d'Alembert, eds., *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, VII. 17 vols., Paris: Briasson, 1751—65.

Lemkin, Raphael. *Axis Rule in Occupied Europe: Laws of Occupation, Analysis of Government, Proposals for Redress*. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1944.

Lenin, Vladimir Il'ich. *Clausewitz' Werk "Vom Kriege": Auszüge und Randglossen*. Berlin: Ministerium für nationale Verteidigung, 1957.

—. *Collected Works*, 45 vols. Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1960—72.

Lieber, Francis. "Twenty-Seven Definitions and Elementary Positions Concerning the Laws and Usages of War" (1861). Lieber MSS, Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University, Box 2, item 15.

—. *Guerrilla Parties: Considered with Reference to the Laws and Usages of War*. New York: D. van Nostrand, 1862

—. *A Code for the Government of Armies in the Field, As Authorized by the Laws and Usages of War on Land*, "Printed as manuscript for the Board appointed by the Secretary of War" (Washington, D.C., 1863), The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, HEH 243077.

—. [US Field Order 100.] *Section X. Insurrection—Rebellion—Civil War—Foreign Invasion of the United States* [1863], The Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, HEH 240460.

—. *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field*. New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1863.

Lincoln, Abraham. *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Roy P. Basler, 11 vols. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1953—55.

Livy. *The Rise of Rome: Books 1 – 5*, trans. T. J. Luce. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Locke, John. *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, rev. edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

—. *Political Essays*, ed. Mark Goldie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Lucan. *M. Annaei Lvcani Pharsalia; sive, De bello civili Caesaris et Pompeii lib. X*, ed. Hugo Grotius. Leiden: Frans Raphelengius, 1614.

—. *Pharsale de M. A. Lucain*, trans. Philippe Chasles and M. Greslou, 2 vols. Paris: C.F. L. Panckoucke, 1835—36.

—. *In Cath Catharda, The Civil War of the Romans. An Irish Version of Lucan's Pharsalia*, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes. Leipzig: Salomon Hirzel, 1909.

—. *Civil War*, trans. Susan H. Braund. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Mably, Gabriel Bonnot de. *Des Droits et des devoirs du citoyen*, ed. Jean-Louis Lecercle. Paris: Marcel Didier, 1972.

*Le mal extrême. La guerre civile vue par les philosophes*, ed. Nicolas Dubos. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2010.

Marx, Karl. *Selected Writings*, ed. David McLellan. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

—and Engels, Friedrich. *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels Gesamtausgabe (MEGA)*, ed. Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus be

im Zentralkomitee der Kommunistischen Partei der Sowjetunion und vom Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim Zentralkomitee der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands. Berlin: Dietz, 1975—.

—and Engels, Friedrich. *The Collected Works of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels*, trans. Richard Dixon, et al., 50 vols. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1975—2004.

May, Thomas. *The History of the Parliament of England which Began November the Third, MDCXL*. London: George Thomason, 1647.

Melville, Herman. *The Writings of Herman Melville*, XI: *Published Poems*, ed. Robert C. Ryan, Harrison Hayford, Alma MacDougall Reising, and G. Thomas Tanselle. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2009.

Mill, John Stuart. *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill*, gen. ed. John M. Robson, 33 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963—91.

Milton, John. *Paradise Lost — A Poem Written in Ten Books*, eds. John T. Shawcross and Michael Lieb, 2 vols. Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007.

Montaigne, Michel de. *Essays Written in French by Michel Lord of Montaigne*, trans. John Florio. London: Edward Blount and William Barret, 1613.



Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, baron de. *Reflections on the Causes of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Eng. trans. Edinburgh: Alexander Donaldson, 1775.

Nietzsche, Friedrich. *On the Genealogy of Morality*, ed. Keith Ansell-Pearson, rev. edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

D'Orléans, Pierre Joseph. *The History of the Revolutions in England under the Family of the Stuarts, from the Year 1603, to 1690*. London: Edmund Curll, 1711.

Orosius. *Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, trans. A. T. Fear. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2010.

Paine, Thomas. *Collected Writings*, ed. Eric Foner. New York: The Library of America, 1995.

*The Parliamentary History of England from the Earliest Period to 1803*. 36 vols., London: T. C. Hansard, 1806—20.

Petronius. *The Satyricon*, trans. J. P. Sullivan, rev. edn. London: Penguin, 2011.

Plato. *The Collected Dialogues of Plato Including the Letters*, ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1961.

Plutarch. *Roman Lives*, trans. Robin Waterfield. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Price, Richard. *Observations on the Nature of Civil Liberty*. London: Thomas Cadell, 1776.

Rawls, John. "Moral Problems: Nations and War" (1969). Harvard University Archives, Acs. 14990, box 12, file 4.

Roebuck, John. *An Enquiry, whether the Guilt of the Present Civil War in America, Ought to be Imputed to Great Britain or America*. n. p., n. d. (1776?).

Romans, Bernard. *Philadelphia, July 12. 1775. It is Proposed to Print, a Complete and Elegant Map, from Boston to Worcester, Providence and Salem. Shewing the Seat of the Present Unhappy Civil War in North-America*. Philadelphia: Robert Aitken, 1775.

—. *To the Hon. Jno. Hancock Esqre. President of the Continental Congress; This Map of the Seat of Civil War in America is Respectfully Inscribed*. [Philadelphia: Nicholas Brooks?, 1775].

—. *Annals of the Troubles in the Netherlands ... A Proper and Seasonable Mirror for the Present Americans*, 2 vols. Hartford, Conn.: Bernard Romans, 1778—82.

*Rómverja Saga*, ed. Þorbjörg Helgadóttir, 2 vols. Reykjavík: Stofnun Árna Magnússonar, 2010.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques. *A Project for Perpetual Peace*, Eng. trans. London: M. Cooper, 1761.

—. *The Discourses and Other Early Political Writings*, ed. Victor Gourevitch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

—. *The Social Contract and Other Later Political Writings*, ed. Victor Gourevitch. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Roy, M. N. *War and Revolution: International Civil War*. Madras: The Radical Democratic Party, 1942.

Sallust. *Fragments of the Histories. Letters to Caesar*, ed. John T. Ramsey. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Salvemini, Gaetano. *Come siamo andati in Libia e altri scritti dal 1900 al 1915*, ed. Augusto Torre. Milan: Feltrinelli Editore, 1963.

Sandoval, Prudencio de. *The Civil Wars of Spain in the Beginning of the Reign of Charls the 5t, Emperor of Germanie and King*, trans. James Wadsworth. London: John Holden, 1652.

Schmitt, Carl. *Donoso Cortés in gesamteuropäischer Interpretation. Vier Aufsätze*. Cologne: Greven, 1950.

—. *Glossarium: Aufzeichnungen der Jahre 1947—1951*, ed. Eberhard Freiherr von Medem. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1991.

—. *La Guerre civile mondiale. Essais (1943—1978)*, trans. Céline Jouin. Maisons Alfort: Éditions Ère, 2007.

—. *Theory of the Partisan: Intermediate Commentary on the Concept of the Political*, trans. G. L. Ulmen. New York: Tel

os Press, 2007.

Sewall, Sarah, introd. *The U. S. Army/Marine Corps Counterinsurgency Field Manual:U. S. Army Field Manual no. 3-24: Marine Corps Warfighting Publication no. 3-33.5*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Sidney, Algernon. *Discourses Concerning Government*. London: For the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1698.

—. *Court Maxims*, ed Hans W. Blom, Eco Haitisma Mulier, and Ronald Janse. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Smith, Adam. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, ed. R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

*Statutes of the University of Oxford Codified in the Year 1636 under the Authority of Archbishop Laud*, ed. John Griffiths. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888.

Students for a Democratic Society. *The Port Huron Statement*. New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1964.

Suetonius. *Suetonius*, trans. J. C. Rolfe, rev. ed., 2 vols. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Tacitus, *Histories, Books I-III*, trans. Clifford H. Moore. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1925.

*Textos insurgentes (1808—1821)*, ed. Virginia Guedea. México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2007.

Thucydides. *The Hystory Writtone by Thucidides the Athenyen of the Warre, whiche was betwene the Peloponnesians and the Athenyans*, trans. Thomas Nicolls. London: William Tyle, 1550.

—. *Eight Bookes of the Peloponnesian Warre*, trans. Thomas Hobbes. London: Richard Mynne, 1629.

—. *The War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians*, ed. and trans. Jeremy Mynott. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Torres Bodet, Jaime. "Why We Fight." *UNESCO Courier* 11, 10 (November 1, 1949):12.

U. K. Ministry of Defence, *The Manual of the Law of Armed Conflic*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

United Daughters of the Confederacy, *Minutes of the Twenty-First Annual Convention of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. Held in Savannah, Georgia, November 11-14, 1914*. Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton, 1915.

U. S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations. *The Nature of Revolution. Hearings Before the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, Ninetieth Congress*,

*Second Session (February 19, 21, 16, and March 7, 1968).* Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1968.

U. S. Continental Congress. *Observations on the American Revolution*. Philadelphia:s.n., 1779.

U. S. Department of the Army. *The Law of Land Warfare/ Department of the Army, July 1956*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1976.

U. S. Department of War. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1880—91.

—. *Instructions for the Government of Armies of the United States in the Field. Prepared by Francis Lieber, LL.D.* Washington, D.C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1898.

—. *Rules of Land Warfare*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1914.

—. *Basic Field Manual: Rules of Land Warfare*. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940.

U. S. Naval War Records Office. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, 30 vols. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894—1922.

U. S. Office of the Adjutant General, Administrative Precedent File (“Frech File”). Record Group 94, Box 16, bundle 58,

“Civil War,” National Archives, Washington, D.C.

U. S. President. (1961—1963: Kennedy). *Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F. Kennedy. Contain ing the Public Messages, Speeches, and Statements of the Pr esident, 1961—1963*, 3 vols. Washington, D.C.: U. S. Govern ment Printing Office, 1962—63.

Vattel, Emer de. *The Law of Nations*, ed. Béla Kapossy a nd Richard Whatmore. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008.

Vázquez de Menchaca, Fernando. *Controversiarum illustr ium...libri tres*. Frankfurt: S.Feyerabend and G. Corvinus, 157 2.

Vertot, René Aubert de. *Histoire de la conjuration de Port ugal*. Paris: La Veuve d’Edme Martin, 1689.

—. *Histoire des révolutions de Suède où l’on voit les cha ngemens qui sont arrivez*. Paris: s.n., 1695.

—. *Histoire des révolutions de Portugal*. Amsterdam: Aux dépens d’Etienne Roger, 1712.

—. *Histoire des révolutions arrivées dans le gouvernmen t de la république romaine*, 3 vols. Paris: François Barois, 171 9.

Wheare, Degory. *The Method and Order of Reading Both Civil and Ecclesiastical Histories*, trans. Edmund Bohun. Lon don: Charles Brome, 1685.

Whitney, Geoffrey. *A Choice of Emblemes and Other Devices*. Leiden: Christopher Plantin, 1586.

Zedong, Mao, and Guevara, Che. *Guerrilla Warfare*, introduced. Basil Liddell Hart. London: Cassell, 1962.

□□□□

Abdul-Ahad, Ghaith. "'Syria is Not a Revolution Any More —This is a Civil War'," *The Guardian*, November 18, 2013: <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/nov/18/syria-revolution-civil-war-conflict-rivalry>.

Adamson, John. "The Baronial Context of the English Civil War." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., 40 (1990): 93–120.

—. *The Noble Revolt: The Overthrow of Charles I*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2007.

—. "Introduction: High Roads and Blind Alleys: The English Civil War and its Historiography," 1–35. In John Adamson, ed., *The English Civil War: Conflict and Contexts, 1640–49*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Adelman, Jeremy. "An Age of Imperial Revolutions." *American Historical Review* 113, 2 (April 2008): 319–40.

Agamben, Giorgio. *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

—. *Stasis: Civil War as a Political Paradigm*, trans. Nicholas Heron. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.



Almond, Gabriel A. "Harry Eckstein as Political Theorist." *Comparative Political Studies* 31, 4 (August 1998): 498-504.

Ando, Clifford. *Law, Language, and Empire in the Roman Tradition*. Philadelphia:University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011.

—. *Roman Social Imaginaries: Language and Thought in the Contexts of Empire*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Andress, David. *The Terror: Civil War in the French Revolution*. London: Little, Brown, 2005.

Angstrom, Jan. "Towards a Typology of Internal Armed Conflict: Synthesising a Decade of Conceptual Turmoil." *Civil Wars* 4, 3 (Autumn 2001): 93-116.

[Anonymous.] "Syria Crisis: Death Toll Tops 17,000, Says Opposition Group." *The Huffington Post*, July 9, 2012: [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/09/syriacrisis-death-toll-17000\\_n\\_1658708.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2012/07/09/syriacrisis-death-toll-17000_n_1658708.html).

—. "Syria in Civil War, Red Cross Says." *BBC News, Middle East*, July 15, 2012: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-18849362>.

—. "Pour Valls, le FN peut conduire à la 'guerre civile'." *Le Monde*, December 11, 2015: [http://www.lemonde.fr/elections-regionales-2015/video/2015/12/11/pour-valls-le-fn-peut-conduire-a-la-guerre-civile\\_4829710\\_4640869.html](http://www.lemonde.fr/elections-regionales-2015/video/2015/12/11/pour-valls-le-fn-peut-conduire-a-la-guerre-civile_4829710_4640869.html).

Armitage, David. *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

—. "Secession and Civil War," 37–55. In Don H. Doyle, ed., *Secession as an International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

—. "What's the Big Idea? Intellectual History and the *Longue Durée*." *History of European Ideas* 38, 4 (December 2012): 493–507.

—. *Foundations of Modern International Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

—. "The First Atlantic Crisis: The American Revolution," 309 – 36. In Philip D. Morgan and Molly A. Warsh, eds., *Early North America in Global Perspective*. London: Routledge, 2014.

—. "Every Great Revolution Is a Civil War," 57 – 68. In Keith Michael Baker and Dan Edelstein, eds., *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.

—. "Cosmopolitanism and Civil War." In Joan-Pau Rubiés and Neil Safier, eds., *Cosmopolitanism and the Enlightenment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.

—, et al. “Interchange: Nationalism and Internationalism in the Era of the Civil War.” *Journal of American History* 98, 2 (September 2011): 455 – 89.

—, et al. “La longue durée en débat.” *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 70, 2(April — June 2015): 319 – 78.

—, et al. “AHR Roundtable: Ending Civil Wars.” *American Historical Review* 120, 5(December 2015): 1682 – 1837.

—, Conal Condren, and Andrew Fitzmaurice, eds. *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

and Sanjay Subrahmanyam, eds. *The Age of Revolutions in Global Context, c.1760—1840*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

As-Sirri, Ahmed. *Religiös-politische Argumentation im frühen Islam (610—685): Der Begriff Fitna: Bedeutung und Funktion*. Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1990.

Baker, Keith Michael. “Inventing the French Revolution,” 203 – 23. In Keith Michael Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

—.“Revolution 1.0.” *Journal of Modern European History* 11, 2 (May 2013):187 – 219.

Balibar, Étienne. “On the Aporias of Marxian Politics: From Civil War to Class Struggle.” *Diacritics* 39, 2 (Summer 2009): 59 – 73.

Bates, David. "On Revolutions in the Nuclear Age: The Eighteenth Century and the Postwar Global Imagination." *Qui Parle* 15, 2 (2005): 171 – 95.

—. *States of War: Enlightenment Origins of the Political*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2012.

Batstone, William W., and Damon, Cynthia. *Caesar's Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Bauman, Richard A. *The Crimen Maiestatis in the Roman Republic and Augustan Principate*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1967.

Baxter, R. R. "The First Modern Codification of the Law of War: Francis Lieber and General Orders No. 100." *The International Review of the Red Cross* 3, 25 – 26 (April — June 1963): 170 – 89, 234 – 50.

Bayly, C. A. *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780—1914*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Beard, Mary. *The Roman Triumph*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007.

—. *SPQR: A History of Ancient Rome*. London: Profile Books, 2015.

Beaulac, Stéphane. "Emer de Vattel and the Externalization of Sovereignty." *Journal of the History of International Law* 5, 2 (2003): 237 – 92.

Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014. Belcher, Henry. *The First American Civil War: First Period, 1775—1778*, 2 vols. London: Macmillan, 1911.

Bell, David A. *The First Total War: Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Warfare as We Know It*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007.

Bentley, Gerald Eades. *Shakespeare and Jonson: Their Reputations in the Seventeenth Century Compared*, 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945.

Berent, Moshe. "Stasis, or the Greek Invention of Politics." *History of Political Thought* 19, 3 (Autumn 1998): 331 – 62.

Bevir, Mark. "What is Genealogy?." *Journal of the Philosophy of History* 2, 3 (Fall 2008): 263 – 75.

Blattman, Christopher, and Miguel, Edward. "Civil War." *Journal of Economic Literature* 48, 1 (March 2010): 3 – 57.

Blight, David W. *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2001.

Boritt, Gabor. *The Gettysburg Gospel: The Lincoln Speech that Nobody Knows*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2006.

—, Neely, Jr., Mark E., and Holzer, Harold. "The European Image of Abraham Lincoln." *Winterthur Portfolio* 21, 2/3 (Su

mmer — Autumn 1986): 153 – 83.

Botteri, Paula. “*Stasis*: Le Mot grec, la chose romaine.” *Mêtis* 4, 1 (1989): 87 – 100.

Bowersock, G. W. “Gibbon on Civil War and Rebellion in the Decline of the Roman Empire.” *Daedalus* 105, 3 (Summer 1976): 63 – 71.

Braddick, Michael. *God’s Fury, England’s Fire: A New History of the English Civil Wars*. London: Allen Lane, 2008.

Brass, Paul. *The Theft of an Idol: Text and Context in the Representation of Collective Violence*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Braumoeller, Bear F. “Is War Disappearing?” Paper presented at the 109th American Political Science Association annual convention, Chicago, August 28 – September 1, 2013: [http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=2317269](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2317269).

Braund, Kathryn E. Holland. “Bernard Romans: His Life and Works,” 1 – 41. In *Bernard Romans, A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, ed. Kathryn E. Holland Braund. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999.

Braund, Susan. “A Tale of Two Cities: Statius, Thebes, and Rome.” *Phoenix* 60, 3/4 (Fall–Winter 2006): 259 – 73.

Breed, Brian, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds. *Citizens of Discord: Rome and its Civil Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Breen, T. H. *American Insurgents, American Patriots: The Revolution of the People*. New York: Hill and Wang, 2010.

Brett, Annabel S. *Changes of State: Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011.

Brinton, Crane. *The Anatomy of Revolution*, expanded edn. New York: Vintage Books, 1965.

Brown, Peter. *Augustine of Hippo: A Biography*, new edn. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Brown, Robert. "The Terms *Bellum Sociale* and *Bellum Civile* in the Late Republic," 94 – 120. In Carl Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 11. Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2003.

Bulst, Neithard, Fisch, Jörg, Koselleck, Reinhart, and Meier, Christian. "Revolution, Rebellion, Aufruhr, Bürgerkrieg," 653 – 788. In Brunner, Otto, Conze, Werner, and Koselleck, Reinhart, eds. *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe. Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, 8 vols. Stuttgart: Ernst Klett, 1972–97.

Brunt, P. A. *Italian Manpower, 225 B.C.—A.D. 14*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971.

—. *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*. London: Chatto and Windus, 1971.

Burke, Peter. "A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450—1700." *History and Theory* 5, 2 (1966): 135 – 52.

Canal, Jordi, "Guerra civil y contrarrevolución en la Europa del sur en el siglo XIX: reflexiones a partir del caso español." *Ayer* 55, 3 (2004): 37 – 60.

Caron, Jean-Claude. *Frères de sang. La guerre civile en France au XIXe siècle*. Seyssel: Champ Vallon, 2009.

Castrén, Erik. *Civil War*. Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1966.

Centre for the Study of Civil War, Peace Research Institute Oslo: <http://www.prio.no/CSCW>.

Checkel, Jeffrey T., ed. *Transnational Dynamics of Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Chenoweth, Erica. "The Syrian Conflict Is Already a Civil War." *The American Prospect*, January 15, 2012: <http://prospect.org/article/syrian-conflict-alreadycivil-war>.

Cimbala, Paul A., and Miller, Randall M., eds. *The Great Task Remaining before Us: Reconstruction as America's Continuing Civil War*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2010.

Clavadetscher-Thürlemann, Silvia. Πόλεμος δίκαιος *und bellum iustum: Versuch einer Ideengeschichte*. Zürich: Juris, 1985.



Coate, Mary. *Cornwall in the Great Civil War and Interregnum, 1642—1660: A Social and Political Study*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

Collier, David, Fernando Daniel Hidalgo, and Andra Olivia Maciuceanu. "Essentially Contested Concepts: Debates and Applications." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11, 3 (October 2006): 211 – 46.

Collier, Paul. *The Bottom Billion: Why the Poorest Countries Are Failing and What Can Be Done About It*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

—. *Wars, Guns, and Votes: Democracy in Dangerous Places*. New York: Harper, 2009.

—, Hoeffler, Anke, and Söderbom, Måns. "On the Duration of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 3 (May 2004): 253 – 73.

—and Sambanis, Nicholas, eds. *Understanding Civil War: Evidence and Analysis*, 2vols. Washington, D.C.: World Bank, 2005.

Conflict Archive on the Internet. "Violence: Deaths During the Conflict" (2001—): <http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/issues/violence/deaths.htm>.

Conte, Gian Biagio. *Latin Literature: A History*, trans. Joseph B. Solodow. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994.

*Cordesmann, Anthony H., with Davies, Emma R. Iraq's Insurgency and the Road to Civil Conflict. 2 vols. Westport, Conn.:Praeger Security International, 2008.*

Coski, John M. "The War Between the Names." *North and South* 8, 7 (January 2006):62 – 71.

Coulter, E. Merton. "A Name for the American War of 1861—1865." *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 36, 2 (June 1952): 109 – 31.

Cramer, Christopher. *Civil War is Not a Stupid Thing: Accounting for Violence in Developing Countries*. London: Hurst & Co., 2006.

Crenshaw, Martha. "Why is America the Primary Target?: Terrorism as Globalized Civil War," 160 – 72. In Charles W. Kegley, Jr., ed., *The New Global Terrorism:Characteristics, Causes, Controls*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002. Cullen, Anthony. *The Concept of Non-International Armed Conflict in International*

*Humanitarian Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

David, Eric. "Internal (Non-International) Armed Conflict," 353 – 62. In Andrew Clapham and Paola Gaeta, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of International Law in Armed Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

De Rouen, Jr., Karl, and Uk Heo, eds. *Civil Wars of the World: Major Conflicts since World War II*, 2 vols. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2007.

Dinstein, Yoram. *Non-International Armed Conflicts in International Law* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Dixon, Jeffrey. "What Causes Civil Wars? Integrating Quantitative Research Findings." *International Studies Review* 11, 4 (December 2009): 707 – 35.

Donagan, Barbara. *War in England, 1642—1649*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Donaldson, Ian. "Talking with Ghosts: Ben Jonson and the English Civil War." *Ben Jonson Journal* 17, 1 (May 2010): 1 – 18.

Downs, Gregory P. *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015.

Doyle, Don. H. *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War*. New York: Basic Books, 2015.

Draper, Hal. *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution, III: The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1977.

Dunne, J. Paul. "Armed Conflicts," 21 – 53. In Bjørn Lomborg, ed., *Global Problems, Smart Solutions: Costs and Benefits*

. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Duvall, Raymond. "An Appraisal of the Methodological and Statistical Procedures of the Correlates of War Project," 67 – 98. In Francis W. Hoole and Dina A. Zinnes, eds., *Quantitative International Politics: An Appraisal*. New York: Praeger, 1976.

Dyer, Brainerd. "Francis Lieber and the American Civil War." *Huntington Library Quarterly* 2, 4 (July 1939): 449 – 65.

Eckstein, Harry. "On the Etiology of Internal Wars." *History and Theory* 4, 2 (1965): 133 – 63.

ed., *Internal War: Problems and Approaches*. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1963.

Edelstein, Dan. "Do We Want a Revolution without Revolution? Reflections on Political Authority." *French Historical Studies* 35, 2 (Spring 2012): 269 – 89.

Elliott, J. H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492–1830*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Engerman, David C. "Social Science in the Cold War." *Isis* 101, 2 (June 2010): 393–400.

Enzensberger, Hans Magnus. *Civil War*, trans. Piers Spence and Martin Chalmers. London: Granta Books, 1994.

Faust, Drew Gilpin. "'Numbers on Top of Numbers': Counting the Civil War Dead." *Journal of Military History* 70, 4 (Oct

ober 2006): 995–1009.

—. *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2008.

Fearon, James D. “Testimony to U.S. House of Representatives... on ‘Iraq: Democracy or Civil War?’.” (September 15, 2006): <http://iis-db.stanford.edu/pubs/21258/Fearon-testimony-9.15.06.pdf>.

—. “Iraq’s Civil War.” *Foreign Affairs* 86, 2 (March/April 2007): 2–16.

—. “Why Do Some Civil Wars Last So Much Longer Than Others?” *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 3 (May 2004): 275–301.

and Laitin, David. “Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War.” *American Political Science Review* 97, 1 (February 2003): 91–106.

Findley, Michael G., and Young, Joseph K. “Terrorism and Civil War: A Spatial and Temporal Approach to a Conceptual Problem.” *Perspectives on Politics* 10, 2 (June 2012): 285–305.

Finkelman, Paul. “Francis Lieber and the Modern Law of War.” *University of Chicago Law Review* 80, 4 (Fall 2013): 2071–132.

Fitzmaurice, Andrew. *Sovereignty, Property and Empire, 1500—2000*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Fleche, Andre M. *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in an Age of Nationalist Conflict*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Flower, Harriet I. *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006.

—. "Rome's First Civil War and the Fragility of Republican Culture," 73–86. In Brian W. Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Foisneau, Luc. "A Farewell to Leviathan: Foucault and Hobbes on Power, Sovereignty and War," 207–22. In G. A. J. Rogers, Tom Sorell, and Jill Kraye, eds., *Insiders and Outsiders in Seventeenth-Century Philosophy*. London: Routledge, 2010.

Forrester, Katrina. "Citizenship, War, and the Origins of International Ethics in American Political Philosophy, 1960–1975." *The Historical Journal* 57, 3(September 2014): 773–801.

Forst, Rainer. *Toleration in Conflict: Past and Present*, trans. Ciaran Cronin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Freedman, Lawrence. "What Makes a Civil War?." *BBC News, Middle East*, April 20, 2006: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/>

middle\_east/4902708.stm.

Fry, Douglas P. *Beyond War: The Human Potential for Peace*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Fuentes, Juan Francisco. "Guerra Civil," 608–17. In Javier Fernández Sebastián and Juan Francisco Fuentes, eds., *Diccionario político y social del siglo XX español*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 2008.

—. "*Belle époque*: Mito y concepto de guerra civil en España (1898—1939)." *Revista de Occidente* 389 (October 2013): 79–110.

Fuks, Alexander. "Thucydides and the Stasis in Corcyra: Thuc. III 82–3 versus [Thuc.] III 84." *American Journal of Philology* 92, 1 (January 1971): 48–55.

Furet François. *Interpreting the French Revolution*, trans. Elborg Forster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Gaddis, John Lewis. *The Long Peace: Inquiries into the History of the Cold War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1987.

Galli, Carlo. *Political Spaces and Global War*, trans. Elizabeth Fay. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010.

Gallie, W. B. "Essentially Contested Concepts." *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* 56 (1955—56): 167–98.

—. *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding*, 2nd edn. New York: Schocken Books, 1968.

Gardet, Louis. "Fitna," 930. In H. A. R. Gibb, et al., eds., *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edn., II. 13 vols., Leiden: Brill, 1960—2009.

Gehrke, Hans-Joachim. *Stasis: Untersuchungen zu den inneren Kriegen in den griechischen Staaten des 5. und 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.* Munich: Beck, 1985.

Geuss, Raymond. "Nietzsche and Genealogy," 1–28. In Raymond Geuss, *Morality, Culture, and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Geyer, Michael, and Bright, Charles. "Global Violence and Nationalizing Wars in Eurasia and America: The Geopolitics of War in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 38, 4 (October 1996): 619–57.

Ghervas, Stella. "La paix par le droit, ciment de la civilisation en Europe? La perspective du Siècle des Lumières," 47–70. In Antoine Lilti and Céline Spector, eds., *Penser l'Europe au XVIIIe siècle: commerce, civilisation, empire*. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2014.

Gibson, Jonathan. "Civil War in 1614: Lucan, Gorges and Prince Henry," 161–76. In Stephen Clucas and Rosalind Davies, eds., *The Crisis of 1614 and the Addled Parliament: Literary and Historical Perspectives*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.



Gilman, Nils. "The Cold War as Intellectual Force Field." *Modern Intellectual History*, (December 2014): <http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S1479244314000420>.

Giraldo Ramírez, Jorge. *El Rastro de Caín: Una aproximación filosófica a los conceptos de guerra, paz y guerra civil*. Bogotá: Escuela Nacional Sindical, 2001.

Girard, René. *Violence and the Sacred*, trans. Patrick Gregory. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Gleditsch, Kristian Skrede. "A Revised List of Wars Between and Within Independent States, 1816—2002." *International Interactions* 30, 3 (July–September 2004): 231–62.

—. "Transnational Dimensions of Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, 3 (May 2007): 293–309.

Goldstein, Joshua S. *Winning the War on War: The Decline of Armed Conflict Worldwide*. New York: Dutton, 2011.

González Calleja, Eduardo. *Las guerras civiles. Perspectiva de análisis desde las ciencias sociales*. Madrid: Catarata, 2013.

—, Arbusti, Irene, and Pinto, Carmine. "Guerre civile. Un percorso teorico." *Meridiana* 76 (2013): 31–56.

Goulemot, Jean Marie. *Le règne de l'histoire. Discours historiques et révolutions XVIIe- XVIIIe siècles*. Paris: Albin Michel, 1996.

Gowing, Alain M. *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

—. “‘Caesar grabs my pen’: Writing Civil War under Tiberius,” 249–60. In Brian W. Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Grangé, Ninon. “*Tumultus* et *Tumulto*: Deux conceptions de la cité en guerre contre elle-même, Machiavel et Cicéron.” *Historia philosophica* 4 (2006): 11–31.

—. *De la guerre civile*. Paris: Armand Colin, 2009.

—. *Oublier la guerre civile? Stasis, chronique d’une disparition*. Paris: VRIN/EHESS, 2015.

Guldi, Jo, and Armitage, David. *The History Manifesto*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Hacker, J. David. “A Census-Based Count of the Civil War Dead.” *Civil War History* 57, 4 (December 2011): 307–48.

Hadfield, Andrew. *Shakespeare and Republicanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Hahlweg, Werner. “Lenin und Clausewitz. Ein Beitrag zur politischen Ideengeschichte des 20. Jahrhunderts.” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 36 (1954): 20–59, 357–87.

Hale, John K. “*Paradise Lost*: A Poem in Twelve Books, or Ten?.” *Philological Quarterly* 74, 2 (Spring 1995): 131–49.

Hardt, Michael, and Negri, Antonio. *Multitude: War and Democracy in the Age of Empire*. New York: Penguin Press, 2004.

Harris, Tim. "Did the English Have a Script For Revolution in the Seventeenth Century?," 25– 40. In Dan Edelstein and Keith Michael Baker, eds., *Scripting Revolution: A Historical Approach to the Comparative Study of Revolutions*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015.

Harrison, John, and Laslett, Peter. *The Library of John Locke*. Oxford: Oxford University Press for the Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1965.

Hartigan, Richard Shelly. *Military Rules, Regulations and the Code of War: Francis Lieber and the Certification of Conflict*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2011.

Härting, Heike. *Global Civil War and Post-colonial Studies. Globalization Working Papers 06/3*, Institute on Globalization and the Human Condition, McMaster University, May 2006.

Harvey, David. *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. London: Verso, 2012.

Hazan, Éric. *A History of the Barricade*, trans. David Fernbach. London: Verso, 2015. Henderson, Errol A., and Singer, J. David. "Civil War in the Post-Colonial World, 1946–92." *Journal of Peace Research* 37, 3 (May 2000): 275–99.

Henderson, John. *Fighting for Rome: Poets and Caesars, History and Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Heuzé, Philippe. "Comment peindre le passage du Rubicon?," 57–65. In Raymond Chevallier, ed., *Présence de César. Actes du Colloque de 9–11 Décembre 1983. Hommage au doyen Michel Rambaud*. Paris: "Les Belles Lettres," 1985.

Hironaka, Ann. *Neverending Wars: The International Community, Weak States, and the Perpetuation of Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005. Hoar, Jay S. *The South's Last Boys in Gray: An Epic Prose Elegy*. Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1986.

Hoeffler, Anke. "Alternative Perspective," 54–61. In Bjørn Lomborg, ed., *Global Problems, Smart Solutions: Costs and Benefits*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Hoekstra, Kinch. "Hobbes's Thucydides," 547–74. In A. P. Martinich and Kinch Hoekstra, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Hobbes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Hoffman, Marcelo. "Foucault's Politics and Bellicosity as a Matrix for Power Relations." *Philosophy and Social Criticism* 33, 6 (September 2007): 756–78.

Holmes, Clive. "The Trial and Execution of Charles I." *The Historical Journal* 53, 2 (June 2010): 289–316.

Hopkinson, Michael. *Green Against Green: The Irish Civil War*. Dublin: Gill and Macmillan, 1988.

Howard, Michael. *The Invention of Peace and the Reinvention of War*, rev. edn. London: Profile, 2002.

Hurrell, Andrew. "Revisiting Kant and Intervention," 196 – 218. In Stefano Recchia and Jennifer M. Welsh, eds., *Just and Unjust Military Intervention: European Thinkers from Vitoria to Mill*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013

International Committee of the Red Cross. "Internal Conflicts or Other Situations of Violence — What is the Difference for Victims?," ICRC Resource Centre, December 12, 2012: <http://www.icrc.org/eng/resources/documents/interview/2012/12-10-niac-non-international-armed-conflict.htm>.

Jacob, Kathryn Allamong. *Testament to Union: Civil War Monuments in Washington, D.C.* Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998.

Jacoby, Russell. *Bloodlust: On the Roots of Violence from Cain and Abel to the Present*. New York: Free Press, 2011.

Jal, Paul. *La guerre civile a Rome. Étude littéraire et morale*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.

—. "'Hostis (Publicus)' dans la littérature latine de la fin de la République." *Revue des études anciennes* 65 (1963): 53 – 79.

—. “‘Tumultus’ et ‘bellum ciuile’ dans les Philippiques de Cicéron,” 281–89. In Marcel Renard and Robert Schilling, eds., *Hommages a Jean Bayet*. Brussels:Éditions Latomus, 1964.

Jasanoff, Maya. *Liberty’s Exiles: American Loyalists in the Revolutionary World*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011.

Jensen, Freyja Cox. “Reading Florus in Early Modern England.” *Renaissance Studies* 23, 5 (November 2009): 659 – 77.

—. *Reading the Roman Republic in Early Modern England*. Leiden: Brill, 2012.

Joas, Hans, and Köbl, Wolfgang. *War in Social Thought: Hobbes to the Present*, trans.Alex Skinner. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Johnson, Martin P. *Writing the Gettysburg Address*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2013.

Jouin, Céline. *Le retour de la guerre juste. Droit international, épistémologie et idéologie chez Carl Schmitt*. Paris: J. Vrin, 2013.

Jung, Dietrich. “Introduction: Towards Global Civil War?,” 1– 6. In Dietrich Jung, ed., *Shadow Globalization, Ethnic Conflicts and New Wars: A Political Economy of Intra-state War*. London: Routledge, 2003.

Kaldor, Mary. *New and Old Wars*, 3rd edn. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012.

Kalyvas, Stathis N. "'New' and 'Old' Civil Wars: A Valid Distinction?" *World Politics* 54, 1 (October 2001): 99–118.

—. "The Ontology of 'Political Violence': Action and Identity in Civil Wars." *Perspectives on Politics* 1, 3 (September 2003): 475 – 94.

—. *The Logic of Violence in Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

—. "Civil Wars," 416 –34. In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

—. "Promises and Pitfalls of an Emerging Research Program: The Microdynamics of Civil War," 397– 421. In Stathis N. Kalyvas, Ian Shapiro, and Tarek Masoud, eds., *Order, Conflict, and Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Keegan, John, and Bull, Bartle. "What is a Civil War? Are We Witnessing One in Iraq?." *Prospect* 129 (December 2006): 18 – 19.

Keenan, Danny. *Wars Without End: The Land Wars in Nineteenth-century New Zealand*, rev. edn. Auckland, NZ: Penguin Books, 2009.

Keeter, Scott. "Civil War: What's in a Name?." Pew Research Center Publications, December 6, 2006: <http://pewresearch.org>

ch.org/pubs/104/civil-war-whats-in-a-name. Keitel, Elizabeth. "Principate and Civil War in the *Annals* of Tacitus." *American Journal of Philology* 105, 3 (Autumn 1984): 306 – 25.

Kelsey, Francis W. "The Title of Caesar's Work on the Gallic and Civil Wars." *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 36(1905): 211 – 38.

Kelsey, Sean. "The Ordinance for the Trial of Charles I." *Historical Research* 76, 193(August 2003): 310 – 31.

—. "The Trial of Charles I." *English Historical Review* 118, 477 (June 2003):583 – 617.

Kesting, Hanno. *Geschichtsphilosophie und Weltbürgerkrieg. Deutungen der Geschichte von der französischen Revolution bis zum ost-west-konflikt*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1959.

Kissane, Bill. *Nations Torn Asunder : The Challenge of Civil War*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

—, and Sitter, Nick. "Ideas in Conflict: The Nationalism Literature and the Comparative Study of Civil War." *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 19, 1 (2013):38 – 57.

Klooster, Wim. *Revolutions in the Atlantic World: A Comparative History*. New York:New York University Press, 2009.

Kloppenber, James T. *Toward Democracy: The Struggle for Self-Rule in European and American Thought*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2016.



Klose, Fabian. "The Colonial Testing Ground: The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Violent End of Empire." *Humanity* 2, 1 (Spring 2011): 107 – 26.

—. *Human Rights in the Shadow of Colonial Violence: The Wars of Independence in Kenya and Algeria*, trans. Dona Geyer. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

Kolb, Robert. "Le droit international public et le concept de guerre civile depuis 1945."

*Relations internationales* 105 (Spring 2001): 9 – 29.

Koselleck, Reinhart. *Critique and Crisis: Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society*, Eng. trans. Oxford: Berg, 1988.

—. "Historical Criteria of the Modern Concept of Revolution," 43 – 57. In Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time*, trans. Keith Tribe. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.

Kretchik, Walter E. *U. S. Army Doctrine: From the American Revolution to the War on Terror*. Lawrence, Kan.: University Press of Kansas, 2011.

Kunze, Michael. "Zweiter Dreißigjähriger Krieg — internationaler Bürgerkrieg/Weltbürgerkrieg. Sigmund Neumanns Beitrag zu einer begriffsgeschichtlichen Kontroverse," 127 – 53. In Frank Schale, Ellen Thümmler, and Michael Vollmer, eds.,

*Intellectuelle Emigration. Zur Aktualität eines historischen Phänomens.* Wiesbaden: Springer, 2012.

Kyriadis, Savvas. "The Idea of Civil War in Thirteenth and Fourteenth-Century Byzantium." *Recueil des travaux de l'Institut d'études byzantines* 49 (2012): 243 – 56.

La Haye, Eva. *War Crimes in Internal Armed Conflicts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Lando, Barry. "The Numbers Prove it — Iraq's a Civil War." *The Los Angeles Times*, November 29, 2006: <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/nov/29/opinion/oelando29>.

Lange, Carsten Hjort. "Triumph and Civil War in the Late Republic." *Papers of the British School at Rome* 81 (2013): 67 – 90.

Larkin, Edward. "What is a Loyalist? The American Revolution as Civil War." *Common-Place* 8, 1 (October 2007): <http://www.common-place.org/vol-08/no01/larkin/>.

Larrère, Catherine. "Grotius et la distinction entre guerre privée et guerre publique," 73 – 93. In Ninon Grangé, ed., *Penser la guerre au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle*. Saint-Denis: Presses Universitaires de Vincennes, 2012.

Laurent, Franck. "'La guerre civile? qu'est-ce à dire? Est-ce qu'il y a une guerre étrangère?'," 133 – 56. In Claude Millet, ed., *Hugo et la guerre*. Paris: Maisonneuve & Larose, 2002.

Lawson, Philip. "Anatomy of a Civil War: New Perspectives on England in the Age of the American Revolution, 1767—82." *Parliamentary History* 8, 1 (May 1989):142 – 52.

Lebreton-Savigny, Monique. *Victor Hugo et les Américains (1825—1885)*. Paris:Éditions Klincksieck, 1971.

Lee, Thomas H., and Ramsey, Michael D. "The Story of the *Prize Cases*: Executive Action and Judicial Review in Wartime," 53 – 92. In Christopher H. Schroeder and Curtis A. Bradley, eds., *Presidential Power Stories*. New York: Foundation Press, 2009.

Lekas, Padelis. *Marx on Classical Antiquity: Problems in Historical Methodology*. Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1988.

Lempérière, Annick. "Revolución, guerra civil, guerra de independencia en el mundo hispánico 1808—1825." *Ayer* 55, 3 (2004): 15 – 36.

Lepore, Jill. *The Name of War: King Philip's War and the Origins of American Identity*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998.

Lind, L. R. "The Idea of the Republic and the Foundations of Roman Political Liberty," 44 – 108. In Carl Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 4. Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 1986.

Lintott, Andrew. *Violence in Republican Rome*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Loraux, Nicole. *The Divided City: On Memory and Forgetting in Ancient Athens*, trans. Corinne Pache and Jeff Fort. New York: Zone Books, 2002.

—. “*Oikeios polemos*. La guerra nella famiglia.” *Studi Storici* 28, 1 (January – March 1987): 5 – 35.

—. “Thucydide et la sédition dans les mots.” *Quaderni di storia* 23 (January – June 1986): 95 – 134.

Losurdo, Domenico. *War and Revolution: Rethinking the Twentieth Century*, trans. Gregory Elliott. London: Verso, 2015.

Lounsberry, Marie Olson, and Pearson, Frederic. *Civil Wars: Internal Struggles, Global Consequences*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009.

Lucena Giraldo, Manuel. *Naciones de rebeldes. Las revoluciones de independencia latinoamericanas*. Madrid: Taurus, 2010.

Lynch, Colum. “The U. N. War Over Calling Syria a ‘Civil War’,” June 13, 2012: [http://turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/06/13/the\\_un\\_war\\_over\\_calling\\_syria\\_a\\_civil\\_war](http://turtlebay.foreignpolicy.com/posts/2012/06/13/the_un_war_over_calling_syria_a_civil_war).

Lynch, John. *San Martín. Soldado argentino, héroe americano*, trans. Alejandra Chaparro. Barcelona: Critica, 2009.

Mack, Charles R., and Lesesne, Henry H., eds. *Francis Lieber and the Culture of the Mind*. Columbia, SC : University of South Carolina Press, 2005.

Malamud, Margaret. "The *Auctoritas* of Antiquity: Debating Slavery through Classical Exempla in the Antebellum US A," 279 – 317. In Edith Hall, Richard Alston, and Justine McConnell, eds., *Ancient Slavery and Abolition: From Hobbes to Hollywood* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

Mamdani, Mahmood. "The Politics of Naming: Genocide, Civil War, Insurgency." *London Review of Books* 29, 5 (March 8, 2007): 1 – 9.

—. *Saviors and Survivors: Darfur, Politics, and the War on Terror*. New York: Pantheon Books, 2009.

Mandelbaum, Michael. *The Dawn of Peace in Europe*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1996.

Manicas, Peter T. "War, Stasis, and Greek Political Thought." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, 4 (October 1982): 673 – 88.

Manjapra, Kris. *M. N. Roy: Marxism and Colonial Cosmopolitanism*. New Delhi: Routledge, 2010.

Manning, Chandra, and Rothman, Adam. "The Name of War." *The New York Times, Opinionator*, August 17, 2013: <http://opinionator.blogs.nytimes.com/2013/08/17/the-name-of-war/>.

Marañón Moya, Gregorio. "El general De Gaulle, en Toledo." *El País*, August 8, 1981: 8.

Marshall, P. J. *The Making and Unmaking of Empires: Britain, India, and America, c.1750—1783*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Martin, Jean-Clément. "Rivoluzione francese e guerra civile," 28 – 55. In Gabriele Ranzato, ed., *Guerre fratricide. Le guerre civili in eta contemporanea*. Turin:Bollati Boringhieri, 1994.

—. "La guerre civile: une notion explicative en histoire?" *Espaces Temps* 71 – 73(1999): 84 – 99.

—. *La Vendée et la Révolution. Accepter la mémoire pour écrire l'histoire*. Paris:Éditions Perrin, 2007.

Mason, T. David. "The Evolution of Theory on Civil War and Revolution," 63 – 99. In Manus I. Midlarsky, ed., *Handbook of War Studies III: The Intrastate Dimension*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2009.

Masters, Jamie. *Poetry and Civil War in Lucan's Bellum Civile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Mattler, Michael J. "The Distinction Between Civil Wars and International Wars and Its Legal Implications." *Journal of International Law and Politics* 26, 4 (Summer1994): 655 – 700.

Mayer, Arno J. *The Furies: Violence and Terror in the French and Russian Revolutions*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Mc Alister, John T. *Viet Nam: The Origins of Revolution*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969.

Mac Cormack, Sabine. *On the Wings of Time: Rome, the Incas, Spain, and Peru*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007.

Mac Cormick, Neil. "Sovereignty and After," 151 – 68. In Hent Kalmo and Quentin Skinner, eds., *Sovereignty in Fragments: The Past, Present and Future of a Contested Concept*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Mc Dowell, Nicholas. "Towards a Poetics of Civil War." *Essays in Criticism* 65, 4 (October 2015): 341 – 67.

Mc Ginty, Brian. *Lincoln and the Court*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008.

Mc Mahon, Darrin M. *Happiness: A History*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2006.—. *Divine Fury: A History of Genius*. New York: Basic Books, 2013.

—. "The Return of the History of Ideas?," 13 – 31. In *Rethinking Modern European Intellectual History*, eds. Darrin Mc Mahon and Samuel Moyn. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Mc Nelis, Charles. *Statius' Thebaid and the Poetics of Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Mendell, Charles W. "The Epic of Asinius Pollio." *Yale Classical Studies* 1 (1928): 195 – 207.

Meyer, Robert T. "The Middle-Irish Version of the *Pharsalia* of Lucan." *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters* 44, 3 (1959): 355 – 63.

Miller, Andrew John. *Modernism and the Crisis of Sovereignty*. New York: Routledge, 2008.

Moir, Lindsay. *The Law of Internal Armed Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

—. "The Concept of Non-international Armed Conflict," 392 – 414. In Andrew Clapham, Paola Gaeta, and Marco Sassòli, eds., *The 1949 Geneva Conventions: A Commentary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Ancient History and the Antiquarian." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 13, 3/4 (1950): 285 – 315.

Moses, Dirk. "Civil War or Genocide? Britain and the Secession of East Pakistan in 1971," 142 – 64. In Aparna Sundar and Nandini Sundar, eds., *Civil Wars in South Asia: State, Sovereignty, Development*. New Delhi: Sage India, 2014.

Mueller, John. *Retreat from Doomsday: The Obsolescence of Major War*. New York: Basic Books, 1989.

Müller, Jan-Werner. *A Dangerous Mind: Carl Schmitt in Post-war European Thought*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.



Münkler, Herfried. *The New Wars*, trans. Patrick Camiller. Cambridge: Polity, 2005.

Murphy, Dan. "Why It's Time to Call Syria a Civil War." *The Christian Science Monitor*, June 5, 2012: <http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Backchannels/2012/0605/Why-it-s-time-to-call-Syria-a-civil-war>.

Musick, Michael P. "A War by Any Other Name." *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 27, 2 (Summer 1995): 149.

Nation, R. Craig. *War on War: Lenin, the Zimmerwald Left, and the Origins of Communist Internationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1989.

Neely, Jr., Mark A. *The Civil War and the Limits of Destruction*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007.

Neff, Stephen C. *War and the Law of Nations: A General History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

—. *Justice in Blue and Gray: A Legal History of the Civil War*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010.

Nelson, Eric. *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014.

Neumann, Sigmund. "The International Civil War." *World Politics* 1, 3 (April 1949): 333 – 50.

Newman, Edward. "Conflict Research and the 'Decline' of Civil War." *Civil Wars* 11,3 (September 2009): 255 – 78.

—. *Understanding Civil Wars: Continuity and Change in Intrastate Conflict*. London: Routledge, 2014.

Nicolet, Claude, ed. *Demokratia et aristokratia: a propos de Caius Gracchus: Mots grecs et réalités romaines*. Paris: Université de Paris I, 1983.

Nipperdey, Thomas, Doering-Manteuffel, Anselm, and Thamer, Hans-Ulrich, eds. *Weltbürgerkrieg der Ideologien. Antworten an Ernst Nolte: Festschrift zum 70. Geburtstag*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1993.

Nolte, Ernst. *Der europäische Bürgerkrieg, 1917—1945: Nationalsozialismus und Bolschewismus*. Berlin: Propyläen, 1987.

Norbrook, David. "Lucan, Thomas May, and the Creation of a Republican Literary Culture," 45 – 66. In Kevin Sharpe and Peter Lake, eds., *Culture and Politics in Early Stuart England*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1994.

—. *Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric and Politics, 1627—1660*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Núñez González, Juan Maria. "On the Meaning of *bella plus quam ciuilia* (Lucan 1, 1). A Relevant Hyperbole," 380 – 8

9. In Carl Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 13. Brussels: Éditions Latomus, 2006.

Odysseos, Louiza. "Violence *after* the State? A Preliminary Examination of the Concept of 'Global Civil War'." Paper presented at *Violence Beyond the State*, Turin, September 12 – 15, 2007.

—. "Liberalism's War, Liberalism's Order: Rethinking the Global Liberal Order as a 'Global Civil War'." Paper presented at *Liberal Internationalism*, San Francisco, CA, March 25, 2008.

Orlansky, Jesse. *The State of Research on Internal War*, Science and Technology Division, *Research Paper* P-565. Arlington, VA: Institute for Defense Analyses, 1970.

Orr, D. Alan. "The Juristic Foundation of Regicide," 117 – 37. In Jason Peacey, ed., *The*

*Regicides and the Execution of Charles I*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001.

—. *Treason and the State: Law, Politics and Ideology in the English Civil War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Orwin, Clifford. "Stasis and Plague: Thucydides on the Dissolution of Society." *Journal of Politics* 50, 4 (November 1988): 831 – 47.

O'Shaughnessy, Andrew. *An Empire Divided: The American Revolution and the British Caribbean*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000.

Osgood, Josiah. *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

—. "Ending Civil War at Rome: Rhetoric and Reality, 88. B.C.E.—197 C.E." *American Historical Review* 120, 5 (December 2015): 1683—95.

Östenberg, Ida. "Veni vidi vici and Caesar's Triumph." *Classical Quarterly* 63, 2 (December 2013): 813 – 27.

Pani, Erika. "Ties Unbound: Membership and Community during the Wars of Independence. The Thirteen North American Colonies (1776—1783) and New Spain (1808—1820)," 39 – 65. In Federica Morelli, Clément Thibaud, and Geneviève Verdo, eds., *Les Empires atlantiques des Lumières au libéralisme (1763—1865)*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009.

Panourgía, Neni. *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2009.

Patten, David A. "Is Iraq in a Civil War?." *Middle East Quarterly* 14, 3 (Summer 2007): 27 – 32.

Pavković, Aleksandar, with Radan, Peter. *Creating New States: Theory and Practice of Secession*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.

Pavone, Claudio. *A Civil War: A History of the Italian Resistance*, trans. Peter Levy and David Broder. London: Verso, 2013.

Payne, Stanley G. *Civil War in Europe, 1905–1949*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Pelling, Christopher. “‘Learning from that violent school master’: Thucydidean Intertextuality and Some Greek Views of Roman Civil War,” 105 – 18. In Brian W. Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Pérez Vejo, Tomás. *Elegía criolla. Una reinterpretación de las guerras de independencia hispanoamericanas*. México, D.F.: Tusquets Editores, 2010.

Pettersson, Therése, and Wallensteen, Peter. “Armed Conflicts, 1946–2014.” *Journal of Peace Research* 52, 4 (July 2015): 536 – 50

Phillipson, Nicholas. *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*. London: Allen Lane, 2010.

Pictet, Jean S. *Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in*

*the Field: Commentary*. Geneva: International Committee of the Red Cross, 1952.

Pinker, Steven. *The Better Angels of Our Nature: Why Violence Has Declined*. New York: Viking, 2011.

Pitts, Jennifer. "Intervention and Sovereign Equality: Legacies of Vattel," 132 – 53. In Stefano Recchia and Jennifer M. Welsh, eds., *Just and Unjust Military Intervention: European Thinkers from Vitoria to Mill*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Platt, Stephen R. *Autumn in the Heavenly Kingdom: China, the West, and the Epic Story of the Taiping Civil War*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2012.

Pocock, J. G. A. "The Fourth English Civil War: Dissolution, Desertion and Alternative Histories in the Glorious Revolution." *Government and Opposition* 23, 2 (April 1988): 151 – 66.

—. "Political Thought in the English-Speaking Atlantic, 1760—1790: I, The Imperial Crisis," 246 – 82. In J. G. A. Pocock, Gordon J. Schochet, and Lois G. Schworer, eds., *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500—1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

—. "Thomas May and the Narrative of Civil War," 112 – 44. In Derek Hirst and Richard Strier, eds., *Writing and Politic*

*al Engagement in Seventeenth-Century England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

—, ed., *Three British Revolutions, 1641, 1688, 1776*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980.

Poignault, Rémy. “Napoleon Ier et Napoleon III lecteurs de Jules César,” 329 – 45. In Raymond Chevallier, ed., *Présence de César. Actes du Colloque de 9 – 11 Décembre 1983. Hommage au doyen Michel Rambaud*. Paris: “Les Belles Lettres,” 1985.

Portinaro, Pier Paolo. “L’epoca della guerra civile mondiale?” *Teoria politica* 8, 1 – 2(1992): 65 – 77.

Pressman, Jeremy. “Why Deny Syria Is in a Civil War?” *Mideast Matrix*, January 16, 2012: <http://mideastmatrix.wordpress.com/2012/01/16/syria-civil-war>.

Price, Jonathan J. *Thucydides and Internal War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Raaflaub, Kurt A., *Dignitatis contentio: Studien z. Motivation u. polit. Taktik im Bürgerkrieg zwischen Caesar u. Pompeius*. Munich: Beck, 1974.

—, “Caesar the Liberator? Factional Politics, Civil War, and Ideology,” 35 – 67. In Francis Cairns and Elaine Fantham, eds., *Caesar Against Liberty? Perspectives on his Autocracy, Papers of the Langford Latin Seminar* 11. Cambridge: Francis Cairns, 2003.

—, ed. *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2005.

Rabinbach, Anson. "The Challenge of the Unprecedented: Raphael Lemkin and the Concept of Genocide." *Simon Dubnow Institute Yearbook* 4 (2005): 397 – 420.

Rachum, Ilan. "The Meaning of 'Revolution' in the English Revolution (London, 1648—1660)." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 56, 2 (April 1995): 195 – 215.

Radan, Peter. "Lincoln, the Constitution, and Secession," 56 – 75. In Don H. Doyle, ed., *Secession as an International Phenomenon: From America's Civil War to Contemporary Separatist Movements*. Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 2010.

Ramsey III, Robert D. *A Masterpiece of Counterinsurgency Warfare: BG J. Franklin Bell in the Philippines, 1901—1902. The Long War Series Occasional Paper* 25. Fort Leavenworth: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007.

Ranzato, Gabriele. "Evidence et invisibilité des guerres civiles," 17 – 25. In Jean Clément Martin, ed., *La guerre civile entre histoire et mémoire*. Nantes: OuestÉditions, 1994.

Rech, Walter. *Enemies of Mankind: Vattel's Theory of Collective Security*. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 2013.



Reiter, Dan, Stam, Allan C., and Horowitz, Michael C. "A Revised Look at Interstate Wars, 1816—2007." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, published online October 16, 2014: <http://jcr.sagepub.com/content/early/2014/10/16/0022002714553107>.

7. Remak, Joachim. *A Very Civil War: The Swiss Sonderbund War of 1847*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1993.

Rey, Alain. "Révolution". *Histoire d'un mot*. Paris: Gallimard, 1989.

Rice, Susan E., Graff, Corinne, and Lewis, Janet. *Poverty and Civil War: What Policymakers Need to Know*, The Brookings Institution, *Global Economy and Development Working Papers* 02 (December 2006).

Richardson, Lewis Fry. *Statistics of Deadly Quarrels*, eds. Quincy Wright and C. C. Lienau. Pittsburgh: Boxwood Press, 1960.

Rieber, Alfred J. "Civil Wars in the Soviet Union." *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, 1 (Winter 2003): 129 – 62.

Rohrbacher, David. *The Historians of Late Antiquity*. London: Routledge, 2002. Rosenberger, Veit. *Bella et expeditiones. Die antike Terminologie der Kriege Roms*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1992.

Rosenfeld, Sophia. *Common Sense: A Political History*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2011.

Rougier, Antoine. *Les Guerres Civiles et le droit des gens*. Paris: L. Larose, 1903.

Rusconi, Gian Enrico. *Se cessiamo di essere una nazione. Tra etnodemocrazie regionali e cittadinanza europea*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 1993.

Sambanis, Nicholas. "A Review of Recent Advances and Future Directions in the Literature on Civil War." *Defense and Peace Economics* 13, 2 (June 2002):215 – 43.

—. "What Is Civil War? Conceptual and Empirical Complexities of an Operational Definition." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 48, 6 (December 2004): 814 – 58.

—. "It's Official: There is Now a Civil War in Iraq." *The New York Times*, July 23, 2006: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/07/23/opinion/23sambanis.html>.

Sarkees, Meredith Reid, and Wayman, Frank Whelon. *Resort to War: A Data Guide to Inter-state, Extra-state, Intra-state, and Non-state Wars, 1816—2007*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press, 2010.

Scanlon, Thomas Francis. *The Influence of Thucydides on Sallus*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1980.

Schiavone, Aldo. *Spartacus*, trans. Jeremy Carden. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013.

Schuhmann, Karl. "Hobbes's Concept of History," 3 – 24. In G. A. J. Rogers and Tom Sorell, eds., *Hobbes and History*. L

ondon: Routledge, 2000.

Schnur, Roman. *Revolution und Weltbürgerkrieg. Studien zur Ouverture nach 1789*. Berlin: Duncker & Humblot, 1983.

—. *Rivoluzione e guerra civile*, ed. Pier Paolo Portinaro. Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1986.

Seager, Robin. *Pompey the Great: A Political Biography*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002.

—. "Sulla," 165 – 207. In J. A. Crook, Andrew Lintott, and Elizabeth Rawson, eds., *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn.: XI: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146—43 B.C.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Seaward, Paul. "Clarendon, Tacitism, and the Civil Wars of Europe," 285 – 306. In Paulina Kewes, ed., *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*. San Marino, CA: The Huntington Library, 2006.

Serna, Pierre. "Toute révolution est guerre d'indépendance," 19 – 49. In Jean-Luc Chappey, Bernard Gainot, Guillaume Mazeau, Frédéric Régent, and Pierre Serna, *Pour quoi faire la Révolution*. Marseille: Agone, 2012.

Sewell, Jr., William H. *Logics of History: Social Theory and Social Transformation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Shapiro, James. "'Metre meete to furnish Lucans style': Reconsidering Marlowe's Lucan," 315 – 26. In Kenneth Friedenreich, Roma Gill, and Constance B. Kuriyama, eds., *"A Poet and a Filthy Playmaker": New Essays on Christopher Marlowe*. New York: AMS Press, 1988.

Sheehan, James J. *Where Have All the Soldiers Gone? The Transformation of Modern Europe*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2008.

Sherwin-White, A. N. *The Roman Citizenship*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

Shy, John. *A People Numerous and Armed: Reflections on the Military Struggle for American Independence*, rev. edn. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990.

Simms, Brendan. *Three Victories and a Defeat: The Rise and Fall of the First British Empire, 1714—1783*. London: Allen Lane, 2007.

Singer, J. David, and Melvin Small. *The Wages of War, 1816—1965: A Statistical Handbook*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1972.

Siotis, Jean. *Le droit de la guerre et les conflits armés d'un caractère non-international*. Paris: Librairie générale de droit et de jurisprudence, 1958.

Sivakumaran, Sandesh. *The Law of Non-International Armed Conflict*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Skaperdas, Stergios, et al. *The Costs of Violence*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2009.

Skinner, Quentin. "A Genealogy of the Modern State." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 162 (2009): 325 – 70.

—. *Forensic Shakespeare*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Small, Melvin, and Singer, J. David. *Resort to Arms: International and Civil Wars, 1816—1980*. Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1982.

Snow, Vernon F. "The Concept of Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England." *The Historical Journal* 5, 2 (1962): 167 – 74.

Solis, Gary D. *The Law of Armed Conflict: International Humanitarian Law in War*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Speier, Hans. *Revolutionary War*. Santa Monica, CA: RAND, 1966.

Stansfield, Gareth. "Accepting Realities in Iraq." *Chatham House Middle East Programme Briefing Paper* 07/02 (May 2007): <http://www.chathamhouse.org.uk/publications/papers/view/-/id/501/>.

Stauffer, John "Civility, Civil Society, and Civil Wars," 88 – 99. In Center for Civil Discourse, *Civility and American Democracy: Nine Scholars Explore the History, Challenges and*

*Role of Civility in Public Discourse*. Boston: University of Massachusetts, 2012.

Stouratis, Ioannis. "Byzantine War Against Christians — An *Emphylios Polemos*?" *Byzantina Symmeikta* 20 (2010): 85 – 110.

Straumann, Benjamin. *Roman Law in the State of Nature: The Classical Foundations of Hugo Grotius's Natural Law*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Suri, Jeremi. *Power and Protest: Global Revolution and the Rise of Détente*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003.

Sutton, Malcolm. *An Index of Deaths from the Conflict in Ireland, 1969—199*. Belfast: Beyond the Pale Publications, 1994.

Taheri, Amir. "There's No Civil War in Iraq: Here is Why." *Asharq Al-Aswat*, March 1, 2006: <http://www.aawsat.net/2006/03/article55267289>.

Talmon, Stefan. "Recognition of the Libyan National Transitional Council." *ASIL Insights* 15, 16 (June 16, 2011): <http://www.asil.org/insights/volume/15/issue/16/recognition-libyan-nationaltransitional-council>.

Themnér, Lotta, and Wallensteen, Peter. "Armed Conflicts, 1946—2013." *Journal of Peace Research* 51, 4 (July 2014): 541 – 54.

Thomas, Richard. "'My brother got killed in the war': Intertextual Intertextuality," 293 – 308. In Brian W. Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., *Citizens of Discord: Rome and Its Civil Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. Toft, Monica Duffy. "Is it a Civil War, or Isn't it?" *Nieman Watchdog* (July 28, 2006): [www.niemanwatchdog.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ask\\_this.view&askthisid=220](http://www.niemanwatchdog.org/index.cfm?fuseaction=ask_this.view&askthisid=220).

Tønnesson, Stein. "A 'Global Civil War'?" 103 – 11. In Bengt Sundelius, ed., *The Consequences of September 11: A Symposium on the Implications for the Study of International Relations*. Stockholm: Utrikespolitiska Institutet, 2002.

Trakulhun, Sven. "Das Ende der Ming-Dynastie in China (1644). Europäische Perspektiven auf eine 'große Revolution'," 475 – 508. In Sven Grampp, Kay Kirchmann, Marcus Sandl, Rudolf Schlögl, and Eva Wiebe, eds., *Revolutionsmedien — Medienrevolutionen*. Konstanz: UVK Verlagsgesellschaft, 2008. Traverso, Enzo. *A ferro e fuoco: la guerra civile europea, 1914—1945*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2007.

—. "The New Anti-Communism: Reading the Twentieth Century," 138 – 55. In Mike Haynes and Jim Wolfreys, eds., *History and Revolution: Refuting Revisionism*. London: Verso, 2007.

United Nations Assistance Mission for Iraq. "Human Rights Report, 1 September – 31 October 2006." <http://www.unir>

aq.org/documents/HR Report Sep Oct 2006 EN.pdf.

Uppsala Conflict Data Program: <http://www.pcr.uu.se/research/UCDP/>.

Urbainczyk, Theresa. *Slave Revolts in Antiquity*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

U. S. Army Field Manual 100-20, *Military Operations in Low Intensity Conflict*(December 5, 1990): [www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/100-20/10020gl.htm](http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/library/policy/army/fm/100-20/10020gl.htm).

U. S. Department Of State, The Office of Electronic Information, Bureau of Public Affairs. “Daily Press Briefing — December 2, 2011”: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/prs/dpb/2011/12/178090.htm>.

Varon, Elizabeth R. *Appomattox: Victory, Defeat, and Freedom at the End of the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014.

Varouxakis, Georgios. *Liberty Abroad: J. S. Mill on International Relations*.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

—. “‘Negrophilist’ Crusader: John Stuart Mill on the American Civil War and Reconstruction.” *History of European Ideas* 39, 5 (September 2013): 729 – 54. Vasquez, John A. *The War Puzzle Revisited*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.



Viola, Paolo. "Rivoluzione e guerra civile," 5 – 26. In Gabriele Ranzato, ed., *Guerre fratricide. Le guerre civili in eta contemporanea*. Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1994.

Vlassopoulos, Kostas. "Acquiring (a) Historicity: Greek History, Temporalities and Eurocentrism in the *Sattelzeit* (1750—1850)," 156 – 78. In Alexandra Lianeri, ed., *The Western Time of Ancient History: Historiographical Encounters with the Greek and Roman Pasts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Wahrman, Dror. *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth Century England*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004.

Waldmann, Peter. "Guerra civil: aproximación a un concepto difícil de formular," 27 – 44. In Peter Waldmann and Fernando Reinardes, eds., *Sociedades en guerra civil. Conflictos violentos de Europa y América Latina*. Barcelona: Paidós, 1999.

Walter, Barbara F. "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War." *Journal of Peace Research* 41, 3 (May 2004): 371 – 88.

Wellman, Christopher Heath. *A Theory of Secession: The Case for Political Self Determination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Wiedemann, Thomas. "Reflections of Roman Political Thought in Latin Historical Writing," 517 – 31. In Christopher R

owe and Malcolm Schofield, eds., *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Political Thought*. Cambridge:Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Wills, Garry. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The Words That Remade America*. New York:Simon & Schuster, 1992.

Wilmshurst, Elizabeth, ed. *International Law and the Classification of Conflicts*.Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Wimmer, Andreas. *Waves of War: Nationalism, State Formation, and Ethnic Exclusion in the Modern World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

—, Cederman, Lars-Erik, and Min, Brian. “Ethnic Politics and Armed Conflict: A Configurational Analysis of a New Global Data Set.” *American Sociological Review* 74, 2 (April 2009): 316 – 37.

and Min, Brian. “From Empire to Nation-State: Explaining Wars in the Modern World,1816—2001.” *American Sociological Review* 71, 6 (December 2006): 867 – 97. Wiseman, T. P. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

—.“The Two-Headed State: How the Romans Explained Civil War,” 25 – 44. In Brian W. Breed, Cynthia Damon, and Andreola Rossi, eds., *Citizens of Discord:*

*Rome and Its Civil Wars*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010.

Witt, John Fabian. *Lincoln's Code: The Laws of War in American History*. New York:Free Press, 2012.

Wong, Edward. "A Matter of Definition: What Makes a Civil War, and Who Declares It So?" *The New York Times*, November 26, 2006: <http://www.nytimes.com/2006/11/26/world/middleeast/26war.html>.

Woodman, A. J. "Poems to Historians: Catullus 1 and Horace, *Odes* 2.1," 199 – 213. In David Braund and Christopher Gill, eds., *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome: Studies in Honour of T. P. Wiseman*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2003.

Woolhouse, Roger. *Locke: A Biography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Worden, Blair. *Roundhead Reputations: The English Civil Wars and the Passions of Posterity*. London: Allen Lane, 2001.

World Bank. *World Development Report 2011: Conflict, Security, and Development*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 2011.

Wrangham, Richard, and Peterson, Dale. *Demonic Males: Apes and the Origins of Human Violence*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996.

Wright, Quincy. *A Study of War*, 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.

—. “The American Civil War (1861—65),” 30–108. In Richard A. Falk, ed., *The International Law of Civil War*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Wyke, Maria. *Caesar: A Life in Western Culture*. London: Granta Books, 2007.

Wynn, Philip. *Augustine on War and Military Service*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2013.

York, Neil L. “Defining and Defending Colonial American Rights: William Bollan, Agent.” *American Political Thought* 3, 2 (Fall 2014): 197 – 227.

Zavis, Alexandra. “Maliki Challenges ‘Civil War’ Label.” *The Los Angeles Times*, December 5, 2006: <http://articles.latimes.com/2006/dec/05/world/fg-iraq5>.

Zurbuchen, Simone. “Vattel’s ‘Law of Nations’ and the Principle of Non Intervention.” *Grotiana* 31 (2012): 69 – 84.